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ART. I. *The Topography of Troy, and its vicinity: Illustrated and Explained, by Drawings and Descriptions. Dedicated, by permission, to her Grace the Dutchess of Devonshire.* By W. Gell, Esquire, of Jesus College, M. A. F. A. S. and late Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge. Printed by C. Whittingham, Dean-Street, for T. N. Longman and O. Rees, Paternoster Row. 1804.

IN looking for some criterion of taste, there is none which appears to be more certain than long established opinion. The tribute of general admiration which has been paid to the genius of Homer, during a period of 3000 years, assures us more positively than any thing else can do, of the undoubted excellence of the father of poetry. There can, indeed, be no stronger proof of his merit, than that, at so great a distance of time, we should still be delighted with descriptions of countries which few of us are ever likely to see; of manners which none of us would desire to imitate; and of wars in which we have no other interest than that which is created by the powerful genius of the poet. Yet, who is so illiterate, as not to be acquainted, by the aid of translation at least, with the Iliad and Odyssey? Who is so devoid of feeling, as not sometimes to have caught a partial glow from the fire of Homer? Who has not been rapt into the midst of the scenes which he describes—has not sided with some Grecian or some Trojan leader—has not fought under the walls of Ilium—has not either thirsted with Achilles to avenge the death of Patroclus, or wept with the aged Priam for the fate of Hector?

Among the many merits of Homer, his fidelity as an historian continues to be celebrated by many of his admirers. A few dissentient voices have indeed been heard in the crowd; but these

were quickly drowned in the general applause; and the incredulity of Anaxagoras seems to have obtained nearly as little attention as the malevolence of Zoilus. Neither has the accuracy of Homer's topography been less a subject of panegyric. It is true, that until a very late period, considerable doubts had been entertained concerning the precise situation of the ancient Troy; and while every one spoke of the Troad, it was left chiefly to the imagination to choose the spot where Ilium stood, and to pick out the Simois and the Scamander, from among the torrents which pour down from the steeps of Ida.

The conjectures of the ancients, at least, do not seem to have been remarkably prosperous or consistent. Alexander himself, with all his enthusiasm and command of information, was unquestionably deceived; and Antigonus continued the building of a city, on a spot which scarcely agrees, in any one particular, with the description of the Grecian bard. Pliny and Strabo were not more successful; and what is still more extraordinary, Demetrius of Scepsis, a native of the country, and who had made Homer his peculiar study, was equally unable to ascertain a point that has been considered as demonstrable by modern travellers. Wood was the first who affected to speak with decision upon the subject: but he was soon destined to be outdone, both in zeal and ingenuity.

In the year 1791, Mr. Chevalier, who had lately returned from the Levant, read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, *a Description of the Plain of Troy;* and in this memoir, the fortunate traveller announced the complete success of his inquiries. Previously to his arrival on this celebrated plain, his ardent imagination had anticipated his triumph. It will not be difficult, said he to himself, to find the two promontories which bounded the camp of the Greeks, to discover the valley of Thymbra, and to distinguish the impetuous course of the rapid Simois, and the limpid stream of the divine Scamander. Perhaps, added he, I shall still be able to find the seat of ancient Pergamus. This pleasing vision, we are assured by Mr. Chevalier, was realized. He had, indeed, the advantage of being the interpreter of his own dream. He marked the position, where he yet thought it strange that the Greeks should have fixed their camp; he showed where *his* Simois *ought* to have joined *his* Scamander; he found this last river, which was once deep, wide, flowing, and navigable, diminished to a little brook, and its waters turned aside into a ditch; he discovered the sources of the same stream, but not among the summits of Ida, where Homer had placed them; (Il. M.) he pointed out the graves of heroes in a country, where even their very names had been forgotten for a long lapse of ages. In spite of the distinct

tinct articulation of the natives, he changed *Udjec-tape* into the tomb of the old Æsyetes; he saw a mound in extent equal to *Udjec-tape*, that is, about 400 paces in circumference, and he called it the *throsmos*, on which the Trojan army, amounting to fifty thousand men, were encamped; and he determined the site of ancient Troy, (which Homer expressly declared was in a plain,*) to be on the spot where the modern village of Bournabachi now stands upon a hill, at the distance of ten miles from the shore.

In the year 1795, the learned Bryant wrote his observations on Mr. Chevalier's treatise, and some time afterwards gave to the world his dissertation on the war of Troy. In these publications, the author not only endeavoured to discredit the work of Chevalier, but denied the existence of the Trojan war. This bold language alarmed the timid criticism of modern times. Mr. Morritt, who had visited the Troad, undertook, rather unnecessarily, to vindicate Homer; and the reviewers fulminated against the literary infidel, who defended his opinions, at the age of eighty, with all the fire, and spirit, and alacrity of youth. It is not difficult, indeed, to guess what would have been the fate of Mr. Morritt, if a reverend critic had not come, like one of the gods of the Iliad, all enveloped in a cloud—νυκτὶ ἐοικὼς—and rescued his rash friend from his veteran adversary.

It appeared to us to be necessary to give this sketch of a controversy which was so warmly maintained upon both sides, before we entered into an immediate review of the present article. We wish, however, chiefly to direct the attention of our readers to that part of the dispute which relates to the topography of the plain and city of Troy. And, as one of our associates has recently returned to us after an extensive tour on the shores of the Ægean sea, in the course of which, he minutely surveyed the whole of the scenery in question; we flatter ourselves, that we may pretend, without much presumption, to be competent judges of that portion of the cause.

Mr. Gell informs us, that the examination of the Troad, as it is connected with the Iliad, was the principal object of his voyage. Our readers will judge in some degree, from the following extract, how well he was qualified for the task.

'The controversy on the subject of Troy, which had long employed the ingenuity and abilities of some of the most learned men in Europe, imparted new charms and increasing interest to the contemplation of scenes already made sufficiently engaging by the writings of the

* (Il. γ.)

the poet and historian. To assert that there existed on my part no disposition to credit the veracity of Homer, both as an historian and topographer, would be useless; yet I can say with truth, that prejudice has never induced me to deviate from the strictest regard to fidelity, either in delineating or describing. I had been accustomed, during a long voyage in the Levant, to sketch every scene, which was remarkable for singularity of feature, or as the theatre of events recorded in history; and I was prepared with copious notes, from every work, ancient and modern, which tended to illustrate the history or topography of the country, while I examined every interesting spot with a delight increasing as the truth and consistency of the Iliad became more and more apparent.'

We cannot but admire the zeal of Mr. Gell, and the extraordinary activity, both of his pencil and his pen. While *he* sketched *every* remarkable scene in the Levant, and while *he* prepared copious notes from *every* work which tended to illustrate the history and topography of the country, his fellow-traveller, we trust, 'with such delay well pleased,' expected a work not less valuable than that with which Mr. Gell has favoured the public. It does not, however, appear quite satisfactory to us to be told, while an author openly avows a disposition to favour one side in a dispute rather than another, that yet his prejudice has never induced him to deviate from a strict regard to fidelity. People in general advance their claims to impartiality as judges, precisely because they pretend to have no prejudices at all; and it is rather new for an author to ask credit for his fidelity in the same sentence in which he has confessed the existence of his prejudice.

The topography of the Troad is certainly extremely interesting to every classical scholar. Our limits will not permit us to enter into very minute details. We shall, however, make some observations on the position of the Grecian camp, on the Simois and the Scamander, and on the site of Troy, as these have been represented by the three travellers, Mr. Chevalier, Mr. Morritt, and Mr. Gell; and we shall afterwards proceed to the consideration of some subjects, not less important to the dispute in question.

1. In the outset of this inquiry, indeed, we cannot help being struck with the hopelessness of any investigation founded on the present appearances of the ground adjacent to the coast, when we remember that the poet himself has informed us of the vast revolution which it underwent, shortly after the termination of the war. If Apollo turned the streams of seven rivers across the plain, to sweep away the foss and rampart of the Greeks, and Neptune heaved up the shore with his trident, and smoothed over the ruins with sand; it is rather unreasonable to expect that,

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at the distance of 3000 years, we should be able to fix with precision, upon the site and dimensions of this famous encampment.* It is worth while, however, to consider what our travellers have been able to ascertain.

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* If it should be objected to us here, that the lines alluded to in the beginning of the XIIth Book are spurious, we have some right to presume, that the objection will not be made by the travellers. It appears pretty evident, indeed, that they either did not believe the passage to be doubtful, or that they thought they could not help their argument by noticing the fabrication. In fact, if this be an interpolation, it must have been made in order to account for the total disappearance of all remains of the foss and rampart. Does not this furnish us with another proof of the early scepticism which prevailed concerning the scene of action of the Iliad? Since a doubt was to be satisfied, a doubt must have existed. Why were these lines inserted? Apparently, because those, who had visited the shores of the Hellespont, had sought in vain for those vestiges, which might have indicated to them the position of the Grecian camp. The admirers of Homer, knowing no other method of getting rid of the difficulty, substituted a fiction for a fact; and brought down the gods from Olympus, and the rivers from Ida, to destroy those ramparts, of which no traces afterwards remained. The readers of poetry were probably satisfied with the contrivance. With others, however, who would contend for the topographical exactness of Homer, the expedient may not be equally successful. We, who have been accustomed to trace the encampments of the Romans after the revolution of seventeen centuries, can scarcely be surprised, that it was found necessary to invent a fiction, and to interpolate the Iliad, in order to obviate the objections of those, who, after the age of Homer, vainly expected to find the remains of the entrenchments, which, during a war of ten years, might be supposed to have been formed with no inconsiderable care and labour, by the vast army of the Greeks. A new difficulty, therefore, appears to arise from the suspicion of the authenticity of the lines in question; since, if it be verified, we can have no doubt but that the scepticism of the Greeks concerning Homer's topography must have commenced at a very early period; and that his admirers were obliged to employ his own machinery, to obliterate all vestiges of the works which he himself had forgotten to destroy. We mean not to blame the immortal bard for this omission, nor yet the interpolator who supplied the deficiency. The fault seems rather to lie with those who looked for realities in a world created by the most brilliant and inventive imagination that ever existed; and we applaud the admirers of Homer, who, when they were idly questioned about a fact, answered it by the insertion into the Iliad of an ingenious but manifest fiction.

It will be, perhaps, likewise objected to us, that if these lines be spurious,

It appears from Homer, that the camp of the Greeks was upon the shore between two promontories. The names of these have not been mentioned by the poet; but conjecture has pointed them out as those, which have since been denominated, the Sygæan and Rhætean. Mr. Gell assures us, that no promontories exist as boundaries of any extensive plain on the Hellespont, except these; and that, consequently, the camp was, here, extended over a part of the flat ground. As Mr. Bryant had contended, from the authority of the poet himself, that the Hellespont of Homer was not confined to the Canal of Abydos, Mr. Gell ought not to have made this positive declaration, without advancing a single argument to support it. He ought to have shown, that the epithets of *broad* and *boundless*, were applicable to the Straits of the Dardanelles. We can scarcely suppose that he was satisfied with the defence which was set up by Mr. Morritt, who has translated ἀπειρων, *impervious, difficult of passage, and little navigated*, all in the same breath. A sea, that was impervious, would not have been difficult of passage, nor little navigated; but one that could neither have been passed nor navigated at all. If ἀπειρων be compounded, as Mr. Morritt pretends, of α privative, and περαω, *transeo*, it certainly signifies *unpassable*; and yet, this appears to be a strange epithet for Achilles to give to the Hellespont, when he was conversing with Priam.* We have been accustomed to derive this word, either from α privative and πειρα, *conatus, incœptum*, when it signifies *inexpertus*, which cannot be its meaning here; or from α privative, and πειρας, or πειρατ, *terminus*, when it signifies *infinitus, innumerabilis, immensus*. Homer has upon several occasions employed this epithet in one or other of these meanings.

——ἰπι δίςνις δημος ἀπειρον. (Il. L. xxiv.)
—— ὑπνον δε θεὸς καθ' απειρονα. (Odyss. L. vii.)
Δεσμὸι μὲν τρις τοσσοι ἀπειρονες ἀμφις ἐχοιεν. (Odyss. L. viii.)

Mr. Morritt has quoted a passage from Sophocles, to prove that

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spurious, we have not Homer's authority for contending, that the Scamander had its source among the mountains of Ida. True; we shall not have Homer's, but we have the interpolator's; and this, joined with Strabo's, seems really to us to outweigh either Mr. Chevalier's, or Mr. Morritt's, or Mr. Gell's.

As, however, the doubt concerning the authenticity of the lines in question has not hitherto been *proved* to us to be well founded, and as the travellers have not noticed it, we do not feel ourselves at liberty to take all the advantages from it, which we have shown it affords to our argument. We shall, therefore, proceed to reason the case, as if the passage were unquestionably genuine.

* Il. Ω.

that this poet, when he applies ἀπείρων to Mount Cithæron, intended it to signify inaccessible. We by no means agree with him. Sophocles no more meant inaccessible by it, when he applied it to the mountain, than Homer did, when he applied it to the sea. They both intended to express the vastness of the objects of which they spoke. In our own language, we may say that the mountains are immense, and that the sea is boundless, while the eye cannot discern their limits; but who would think of calling the English Channel impervious, or the Alps themselves unpassable? Homer, therefore, when he spoke of the boundless Hellespont, probably understood the Ægean sea.

Mr. Wood attempted to account for the distance of *his* Troy from the shore, by supposing a great accretion of land, and for this he was severely censured by Mr. Chevalier. It was, however, soon discovered, that this was a most unlucky criticism of Mr. Chevalier's, since it shows, that *his* Troy must have been at least nine or ten miles from the sea; and it is impossible to believe, (if we attend to the events of the day when Patroclus was slain) that the distance could have been so great between Homer's Hellespont and *his* Troy. Mr. Morritt, and Mr. Gell, have added a very considerable portion to the land since the Trojan war; we mean upon their maps; because we think, with Mr. Chevalier, that this could not have happened in fact. 'It is even easy to prove,' says the last mentioned traveller, 'that no considerable increase can exist there, because the impetuous currents of the Hellespont constantly prevent this, by sweeping the sands away into the Ægean sea, as fast as the river accumulates them at its mouth.' If, then, Mr. Chevalier's Troy was the Troy of Homer, the Greek and Trojan armies must have fought over a space of near forty miles in one day; for the Greeks twice pursued the Trojans from the camp * to the walls, and were twice driven back again to their ships.

Mr. Chevalier measured the distance between the Rhætean and Sygæan promontories, and found it to be 3000 toises. We shall not enter here into any discussion on the different calculations which have been made on this subject, or on the very different accounts which have been given of the situation of these promontories. Mr. Bryant, however, has put a mischievous question to the travellers, of which we are bound to take notice. How, he asks, could Agamemnon make himself be heard at the two extremities of the camp, as Homer says he did, while he spoke from the centre? This embarrassing question becomes very perplexing

* At the beginning of the day, the Greeks were at a small distance from the entrenchment.

perplexing indeed, if it be true, that the low land has gained two or three miles upon the sea since the Trojan war; because, as the promontories probably remain where they did, the camp must have been formed like a crescent, and the distance must have been great in proportion between the ship of Ulysses, and the tents of Ajax and Achilles.

It appears from Homer, that the Greeks were encamped between two promontories, and that their ships were drawn up upon the shore. The space, though considerable, was not of sufficient extent to receive all the ships in one line, and accordingly they were ranged in several rows, rising one above another like the steps of a ladder.

Πολλὸν γάρ ῥ' ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἰερύατο νῆες
Θεῖν' ἰφ' ἁλὸς πολιῆς· τὰς γὰρ πρώτας πεδέοντες
Εἵρυσαν, αὐτὰρ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πρύμνῃσιν ἔδειμαν
Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὣς πῆρ ἐὸν ἴδυιάσατο πάσας
Αἰγιαλὸς νῆας χαδέειν· ἐπὶ δὲ λαοί.
Τῷ ῥὰ πρυμνήσσας ἔρυσαν, καὶ πλῆσαν ἀπάσης
Ἠϊόνος τόμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνίεργαθον ἀκραι. Il. Ξ.

The ships of the Greeks amounted to nearly 1200 in number. They were of such dimensions, as to be drawn up upon the shore. Now, it does seem rather difficult to believe, that there not only was not sufficient room to place these ships in a line, but that the people were crowded, and that all this happened upon a flat beach, which extends for nearly four miles between the Sigæan and Rhætean promontories. If Homer had named the promontories of which he speaks, and had called them the Sigæan and Rhætean, his vindication would, indeed, have been difficult; but since he has mentioned neither of them, it is rather unjust to accuse him of having had them in view, when he said, that 1186 barks, though arranged in different rows, were crowded in lying between them.

In the maps of Chevalier and Morritt, the river, which they call the Simois, is represented as now joining the sea about the *middle* of the low ground, though rather nearer to the pretended station of Ajax, than to that of Achilles. The mouth of the Scamander must therefore have also been formerly here. Now, the Scamander was a broad, deep, and navigable river. Is it not extraordinary, then, that the Greeks should have placed their camp where one half of it must have been separated from the other by a navigable river? Had it been the pseudo-Simois only, the objection would have been distressing; for this also is, for several months of the year, a considerable stream, which could not have been easily forded: but, that the Greeks should have pitched their tents on each side of the navigable Scamander, where

where one division of the army frequently could not have assisted the other, is altogether improbable. Besides, how has it happened, that Homer has not said a word of any stream flowing through the middle of the Grecian camp? How came this exact topographer to fail us here? Or, rather, let us ask, upon what authority the travellers have placed the tents of the Greeks on the banks of their pseudo-Simois?

As we have never met with any answer to the observations of Mr. Bryant, concerning the *stoma-limne* of Strabo, we shall refer our readers to that gentleman's works; not, however, without subscribing to Mr. Bryant's remark, that 'a camp, with an unpassable morass in the middle of it, was never thought of before.'

Another difficulty has occurred to us, in looking at the maps of Chevalier and Morritt. How did the Greeks, who were stationed near the Rhætean promontory, avoid passing the Simois in their way to Troy? Homer speaks of the fords of the Xanthus, and of no others. Was it in order to elude this difficulty, that Mr. Morritt has confined the *statio Achivorum*, in his map, between the Sigæan promontory and the place of the pretended junction of the rivers? It is, however, evident from Homer, that the Greek encampment extended completely over the space between the two unnamed promontories: We have seen, in the passage last quoted from him, that there was hardly room enough between them to contain the shipping and the army.

As we had been particularly struck with this objection, while we surveyed the maps of Chevalier and Morritt, we turned with some curiosity to that of Mr. Gell In it, we found the mouth of the river brought much nearer to the Sigæan promontory, than in the other two; and as the difficulty was thus greatly increased, we became more confident than ever, that the encampment of the Greeks could not have been between the Sigæan and Rhætean promontories. We were anxious, however, to know how Mr. Gell would reconcile this conjecture of his friends with their topography and his own. We soon discovered that this ingenious gentleman had found no difficulty at all, where we had expected him to find so much. He was quite aware of the objection, which, nevertheless, only cost him another conjecture to remove. He proposes, that the river which now falls into the sea near Koum-Kale, should have formerly joined it a little to the eastward of Koum-Kevi; making the present mouth of the river not quite three miles distant from the ancient. This change he accounts for, by observing, that the waters of the Xanthus are withdrawn. 'The Scamander,' says he, 'before its diversion, would probably, by its never failing stream, have caused the bed of the united rivers to incline towards

wards the tumulus of Ajax, as much as the Simois, when unresisted by the waters of the Scamander, has in latter times inclined to the station of Achilles.' Did Mr. Gell forget at this moment, that *his* Scamander is a little rivulet; and that *his* Simois is for several months in the year a mighty torrent, 100 yards in breadth? Did he forget, that the ditch which carries away the waters of the pseudo-Xanthus, was dug by the orders of a Turkish governor, and that, therefore, the pseudo-Simois must have changed its course in a much shorter time than our traveller seems to suppose? But we feel that we ought not to press this last question too hardly upon Mr. Gell; because, upon comparing his map with the maps of his friends, which, he tells us, appear to be very correct, the mouth of the pseudo-Simois has got nearly a mile further to the westward, since Mr. Morritt has been upon the spot.

II. When Mr. Chevalier first gave the name of Scamander to the little rivulet which takes its rise from some fountains in the plain beneath the hill of Bournabachi, it was objected, especially by Mr. Bryant, that this could not be the deep, wide-flowing river, which came from the summits of Ida, and which sprang from Jove. The description, indeed, which Homer has given of the Scamander, seems totally inapplicable to a brook of five yards in breadth. Mr. Morritt thought that there was nothing in this, because the epithets above mentioned were only given to the Scamander after its junction with the Simois. He asserts, that the battle of the xxist book was fought below the confluence. We confess, we were surprised to find this admitted by Mr. Bryant; nor were we less so to find it almost taken for granted by a man of the acknowledged erudition of Mr. P. Knight. If Mr. Morritt's own map be correct, the battle, we think, must have been above the junction of the rivers: *First*, because the rampart of the Greeks came quite up to the point of confluence, and the battle did not take place *in* the camp: *Secondly*, because the confluence of the rivers was several miles from Troy; whereas it appears from Homer, that the combat was near the city. Mr. Morritt, however, is of opinion, that it would have been useless for the Scamander to have called for the aid of the Simois, above their junction. But when the rivers ceased to be distinct, and when their waters were united, it seems very extraordinary that the one should call on the other for assistance. The united streams made one individual; and the individuality of each was lost in that of both; and the Simois and the Scamander became the same, though the latter gave its name to the combined waters. It is evident from Homer, that the object of the River God was to prevent Achilles from approaching the city:

city; and, indeed, to drown him, for having polluted its waves with the blood of the Trojans whom he had slain. Now, it seems that, in this last endeavour, the hero was more than a match for the god; and the Xanthus, therefore, strove to force him down towards the confluence; and, in doing this, while the streams were yet distinct, called on the Simois to roll down a great torrent, that, when Achilles got below the confluence, they might then overwhelm him between them. This appears to us to have been the meaning of Homer; and our argument is much strengthened by the description which the poet gives of the Xanthus, both during the contest and afterwards. The land below the junction is sandy, flat, and marshy, producing nothing but reeds and rushes. Now, how is this to be reconciled with Homer's description? for it is evident from him, that Achilles, by opening the flood-gates and sluices, turned the course of the stream, and conducted it among the gardens, through which there were probably canals cut, for the purpose of watering them?* Again, when Vulcan turned the shining flame upon the river, we have the following lines:

Καίοντο πτελέαι τε, καὶ ἰτέαι, ἠδὲ μυρῖκαι,
Καίετο δὲ λωτὸς τ' ἠδὲ θρύον, ἠδὲ κύπειρον,
Τα περὶ καλὰ ῥέεθρα ἁλὶς πολυμοῖο πιφύκει. Il. φ.

Now, who ever heard of gardens, and a profusion of trees, shrubs, and plants, among such barren sands, and salt-water marshes, as exist near the mouth of the pseudo-Simois? Mr. Gell, indeed, found one little garden below the junction; and we congratulate him on the discovery, as it must, no doubt, have recalled to his recollection the passage in Homer to which we have alluded. But we think it only necessary to look at Morritt's map, or Chevalier's, to be convinced, that the poet's description could never have applied to the Xanthus, or to its banks, below its confluence with the Simois.

In the xxist book Apollo assumes the shape of Agenor, and, running towards the plain, decoys Achilles from the troops, in order to prevent his entering the city with the fugitive Trojans. Now, when Homer mentions the Scamander in the following verses, he must certainly have spoken of it above the junction, if any faith can be put in the maps of the travellers.

Εὖτε δ' ὁ τον πεδίοιο διωκτὸν πυρφορέοιτο,
Στρέψας πὰρ ποταμὸν βαθυδινήεντα Σκαμάνδρου, &c.

In the battle of the xxth book, the whole plain was filled with troops, and glittered with the armour of men and horses. This battle, then, according to the maps of the travellers, must have been fought above the junction. The Gods took part in the

* Il. φ. 257.

the strife; Vulcan was opposed to Xanthus. Now, this son of Jupiter was a great and deep-eddying river, that the Gods called Xanthus, and men Scamander. Will it be pretended, that Homer here understood the Scamander, after it had been joined by the Simois, and had passed on beyond the scene of action?

Mr. Chevalier tells us, that Homer has chosen to make us acquainted with the breadth of the Scamander; and he quotes the following passage in order to prove it.

—— ὁ δὲ πτελέην ἴλε χερσὶν
Εὐρυία, μεγάλην· ἡ δ' ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἐρεπτοῦτο
Κρημνὸν ἅπαντα διῶσιν, ἐπίσχε δὲ καλὰ ῥέεθρα
Οζοισιν πυκινοῖσι· γεφύρωσιν δέ μιν αὐτὸν,
Εἶτ' ὦ πᾶσ' ἐρεπτοῦσ'. ὁ δ' ἀρ', ἐκ λίμνης ἀνορούσας
Ἤϊξεν πεδίοιο ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πίτνσθαι. Il Φ.

Did Mr. Chevalier mean to argue from this passage, that the elm tree fell completely across the Scamander? If he did, it must be then evident, from his own account, that he thought that the combat of Achilles and the Xanthus was above the junction of the rivers; for he tells us, that the Simois alone is 300 feet in breadth. But does it appear from Homer that the tree did fall quite across the stream? Nothing like it. Achilles, struggling against the torrent, catches hold of an elm tree that was hanging over it, and brings down the tree with the bank. The fallen tree resists the waters with its thick branches, and serves as a bridge to the hero, who rises by its help out of the flood. Now, if a man were to slip into the Danube, or the Nile, and could catch hold of a great tree, and pull it down into the water, it does not seem impossible that he might save himself in the same way that Achilles did, though nobody would therefore infer that the tree reached to the opposite bank. Homer certainly could have no such meaning; for he says, that the whole plain was inundated.

Αὐταρ ὁ βῆ ——
Ἐς πεδιον. το δὲ πᾶν πλῆθ' ὑδατος ἐκχυμένοιο.

Since it appears, then, that Homer spoke, in the foregoing instances, of the Scamander above its junction with the Simois, we shall leave it to the travellers to explain how Homer's great, broad, deep, and divine Scamander, has dwindled into the little brook of Bournabachi.

In Mr. Chevalier's map, a little canal, connecting this brook with the sea, is denominated the new channel of the Scamander, though the inhabitants of the country ascribe the construction of it to Gazi Hassan, and some of them even assured Mr. Chevalier, that they had been employed in its formation. Mr. Morritt and Mr. Gell, however, boldly call it the *amnis navigabilis* of Pliny. Ingenious travellers! You tell us, that a portion of the water of

a rivulet, fifteen feet in breadth, is carried off to the sea in a ditch, and then you would persuade us, that this was a navigable river !!!

We learn from Homer, that the Scamander was one of the torrents which came down from the summits of Ida. Demetrius of Scepsis informed Strabo, that it issued from a hill of Ida called Cotylus, that it ran towards the west, and that though Homer has given it two, it has in reality only one source. Strabo endeavours to account for this seeming incongruity as well as he can; but Mr. Chevalier is very angry both with Demetrius and Strabo. We shall not pretend to determine, whether Strabo's explanation be satisfactory or not; though we have no hesitation in saying, that if any modern traveller pretend that he has found the sources of the Scamander, we shall expect him to agree either with Homer, or with Strabo. If his account answer to the description of Homer, he must have discovered the springs of the Scamander among the summits of Ida; and it must appear that one of these springs is hot, and enveloped in smoke, while the other is as cold, even in summer, as snow, or ice.

Our readers, who have not been convinced from the accounts of Chevalier and Morritt, that the fountains of Bournabachi are the sources of the Scamander, will not find their doubts removed by the testimony of Mr. Gell. This gentleman, instead of climbing to the heights of Ida, walked downwards from the village to the nearest part of the plain.

'We walked downwards from the village into the nearest part of the plain, and came to a neat square cistern surrounded by willows, and formed by several pieces of white marble, and two blocks of granite, within which a copious spring boiled up with considerable force. I was warm with riding, and naturally took some of the water in my hand to drink; *not having at that moment a thought of Homer in my mind.* I was surprised to find that the water was too warm to relieve thirst. My surprise, however, was quickly dissipated, as I concluded that this must be the warm source of the Scamander; and having found that, I knew from the accounts of other travellers, in what direction to look for the *cooler sources.* We accordingly proceeded to the west, in our way meeting with *a second cistern,* very near the other, and of modern workmanship, *scarcely* to be called a separate source. The water was equally warm, *or even more so.* At the distance of one hundred and seventy yards, we came to a splash (plash) of water, from which a rapid brook took its rise, and, on the opposite side of it, saw the water rising in large quantities from a perforated rock. I perceived a very considerable difference in the nature of the two springs; for this was cold and refreshing. One of my companions, however, was not affected by the same sensations, *as he thought both of an equal temperature.* This I attributed

buted at the time to a difference only in the habit of body. — — — — I am now, however, able to account for the difference in our sensations; for it has been ascertained by the thermometer, that both are warm; yet, as the receptacle of the second is large, while that of the former is confined, the evaporation from the surface alone would be sufficient to lower the temperature very considerably. In fact, it is probable that my friend made trial of the water much nearer to the place where it first issues from the rock, than myself. At all events, the spring passes, among the inhabitants of Bournabachi, for a cold one, while the other is regarded as warm; and that alone is sufficient to determine the point.' (p. 8.) 'About one hundred and seventy yards from the warm springs of the Scamander, towards the west, the cold sources are found throwing up a considerable quantity of water from many openings in the rock. It has been discovered by the help of a thermometer, which was thrust into the fissure as far as the arm would permit it to go, that this spring is equally warm with the former.' — — — — 'The Turks say, these (the cold springs) are forty in number.' (p. 76.)

Mr. Gell also informs us, that the temperature is equal to 64 degrees of Fahrenheit; though we found it to be no more than 57, and exactly the same in both sources.

The testimony and the reasoning contained in these extracts are very curious indeed; and the logic and the arithmetic of Mr. Gell appear equally extraordinary to us. He makes two cisterns, containing warm water, and forty springs of the same temperature with this water, equal to two springs, one hot, and one cold. Where Mr. Gell learned algebra, we do not know; but of such an equation as this, we never heard in our lives before.

Homer informs us, that there were two fountains of the Scamander, one of which was extremely hot, and enveloped in smoke, and that the other issues forth, even in summer, as cold as the hail, the snow, or the ice. Now, does Mr. Gell really expect us to believe, that the forty warm springs, which make a plash of water near Bournabachi, once formed the cold fountain of the Scamander? He tells us, that the temperature is equal to 64 of Fahrenheit. Who would ever have thought of comparing water at this heat to snow and ice? But our author's apology is very ingenious. If you will only drink the water at a sufficient distance below the source, you may find it cool and refreshing. This, however, will not avail him. If he had looked into the Iliad, he would have found, that Homer says the water flows forth, πηγέϊ, like the hail, and the cold snow, and the ice; and these comparisons were, therefore, meant to apply to it as it gushes out of the earth, and not after it has had time, by standing in the pool, to acquire a new temperature by evaporation.

Mr. Gell took some of the water in the first cistern to drink, without

without having a thought of Homer in his mind. We readily believe it. Homer says, that the warm source of the Scamander is as hot as fire, and that it is enveloped in smoke. Mr. Chevalier boldly asserts (p. 127,) that the thing is not as Homer insinuates; and that the fountain only smokes in winter. But if even this had been true, how did it happen that Mr. Gell was not warned, by the smoke, of the heat of the water, when he approached it in the month of December? After all, it must be confessed, that the travellers have clearly made it out, that their description of the sources of the Scamander is perfectly right, provided Homer's is perfectly wrong.

Even if, instead of forty-two springs of the same temperature, and that neither cold nor hot, Mr. Gell had been fortunate enough to discover a hot and a cold fountain running into each other, it would not have been a little rash in him to conclude that he had found the sources of the Scamander; as this is, in fact, by no means a singular occurrence in this quarter of the world. At Troas Alexandria, there are natural hot baths in the vicinity of cold springs; and it is a curious circumstance, that very near the principal source of Mr. Gell's *Simois*, there are two springs, one hot, and one cold, which both fall into that river, and are much celebrated for their medicinal virtues.

These considerations, we acknowledge, leave us little room to doubt, that the whole of M. Chevalier's speculation is no more than the gay dream of a classical enthusiast, and that he and his followers have been just as successful in ascertaining the site of ancient Ilium, as any of the meritorious inquirers who have amused themselves in determining the true longitude and latitude of the garden of Eden. Supposing, however, for a moment, that the plain of Bournabachi was that of ancient Troy, and that the streams that divide it were the Simois and Scamander of Homer, it appears to us, we acknowledge, that our recent travellers have distributed these names very injudiciously, and given the title of the Simois to the only one of the streams that answers at all to the description of the Scamander.

The source of this river is said by Homer, and, after him, by all the ancients who have mentioned it, to have been in Mount Ida; and in the twelfth book, indeed, *both* the Scamander and the Simois, are expressly described as flowing from the Idæan mountains.

"Οσσοι ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ἐρίων ἅλαδε πρηρίουσι, &c. Il. XII. 19.

Now, we must protest against the eminence on which Bournabachi stands, being considered as forming any part of Mount Ida. Gargarus is at the distance of forty miles, from which the Idæan ridge extends in a south-westerly direction to the promontory of Lectum.

Lectum, and north towards the Propontis. Bournabachi is in itself totally unconnected with any part of this chain of mountains; and the rising ground on the coast, in the whole extent from Lampsacus to Lectum, might, with equal propriety, be called part of Ida. But Mr. Gell's Scamander, we have seen, does not flow from any eminence at all; its source is below the town, and is as completely in the plain as any part of its course: the slow and sluggish stream is continued through flat and marshy ground, until it is changed by the ditch or canal of Gazi Hassan.

The source of the Mendere-Sou, again the Simois of our modern traveller, is in Mount Gargarus, the chief of the Idæan range of hills: It has never been visited by any traveller who has published upon Troy; but it presents one of the grandest and most picturesque scenes with which this part of Asia Minor abounds. The water rises in a vast cavern of white marble, and gushes out by two apertures in the rock, forming, in its fall, a magnificent cascade; and the surrounding precipices being covered with pine, oak, and plane trees, render the whole scene eminently beautiful and imposing. The source, in the month of July, was one of the most copious we ever remember to have seen. The river, after leaving the mountains, having entered the plain of Bairamitch, flows with a rapid current through its whole extent, ' and, passing Bournabachi a little to the north, empties itself into the sea at the village of Koum-Kalè. Its breadth, in what is called the plain of Troy, is very considerable, being in some parts three hundred feet; and in the first part of its course, it equals in the purity, and always far exceeds in the abundance of its waters, the little stream of the plain. That this description is more in harmony with the general impressions concerning the Scamander, which are received by those who read the Iliad, than the account of the rivulet of Bournabachi, seems to be a position that does not require any farther confirmation.

It would be tedious to enlarge upon the testimonies of the ancients, however clear and explicit, as to the larger river being the Scamander; but we proceed to consider the opinion of Herodotus, and we are the more tempted to do this, as it seems to us that a difficult passage in this admirable historian may be thereby explained. In the 7th book of his history, Xerxes is said to have gone from Antandros to Abydos, and, in performing this journey, Mount Ida was on his *left* hand.—τὴν Ἰδὴν δὲ λαιῷν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χέρα. Now, on looking at all the maps of this district, it will be seen that, following the direct line between these two places, he would

would have left Gargarus on his *right* hand; this contradiction is owing to the inaccuracy of all the charts respecting the gulf of Adramyttium, the most eastern part of which bears N E. from the top of Gargarus, and consequently, on departing from Antandros, which was situated on the extremity of the gulf, Gargarus would be on his left hand. But to proceed—Xerxes, after passing Gargarus, arrived at the banks of the Scamander, and the army, after drinking of its waters, continued their road to Troy. Now, if Troy were on the site of Bournabachi, the road of Xerxes must have been through the plain of Bairamitch, and along the banks of Mr. Gell's Simois, for the distance of near thirty miles. Mr. Morritt is aware of this difficulty, and pretends that the army of Xerxes passed on without drinking of his Simois, as it was only a muddy and troubled torrent: but however it might have appeared to Mr. Morritt, we certainly found its water most admirable, and infinitely more clear and refreshing than that of his Scamander. The Turks also, in the neighbourhood, attributed to it, the peculiar virtue of not injuring those persons who drank of it, when heated by exercise; nor can we think that Xerxes and his army found it less agreeable; we speak not of the river after it has entered the rich plain of Bournabachi, but of that part of it which Xerxes must have passed in journeying from Gargarus to the supposed situation of Troy. From this statement it appears evident to us, that this river was, in the opinion of Herodotus, the Scamander of Homer. But, in addition, he proceeds to say, that Xerxes 'from this river passed to Troy;'—ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Περίαμμα Πέργαμον ἀνάβη ἵμερον ἔχων ϑεήσασθαι. Polym. μγ. Now, had he gone with his army to drink where Messrs. Chevalier, Morritt, and Gell direct him, viz. to the sources of the rivulet of Bournabachi, he must absolutely have passed through part of the town in order to arrive at them, instead of meeting with the water in his way to the city: moreover, there is no intimation of his drinking at the *sources* of the stream; on the contrary, he arrives at once on the banks of the river,—which would be impossible, according to Mr. Gell's description of the Scamander.

Before we dismiss this part of the question, we must take notice of another peculiarity in the arguments of these gentlemen. It being evident that the Scamander was more honoured by the Trojans than the Simois, they are reduced to some difficulty, in order to explain why the little rivulet of Bournabachi should be held in higher estimation than the larger river of the hills: for this purpose, the waters of the latter are first said to be impure, which we cannot admit to be the case; and then its stream

is described as inconstant, sometimes rolling along with great impetuosity, but, for the greatest part of the year, leaving its channel entirely dry.

If this statement were true, nothing conclusive could be gathered from it; for we find that the veneration of the ancients was not regulated by such circumstances. Thus, at Athens, the Ilissus, excepting a very few weeks in the year, is perfectly dry; while, on the other hand, the Cephisus not only affords a plentiful stream of water the whole year, but, by its channel being carried in various directions amongst the olive trees, confers the most essential benefit on the inhabitants. Notwithstanding this, we scarcely ever find the Cephisus celebrated by any of the poets. It was on the banks of the *Ilissus* that Orythia was playing when carried off by Boreas; it was the *Ilissus* which gave a name to the Muses, and on its banks they had their altars; it was with the waters of the *Ilissus* that the initiated into the lesser mysteries were purified. The real state of the fact, however, renders all this disquisition unnecessary; for although the Mendere Sou, like all streams which run in part through a mountainous district, is liable to be greatly increased by the occasional swelling of those torrents which run into it, and therefore its stream may properly be called inconstant; yet we deny that at any time of the year, it is without a considerable body of water. The universal assertion of the neighbouring Turks, and the large fish caught in it, sufficiently prove this; and when we saw it in the month of July, when its waters might fairly be considered at the lowest, the current was at least two hundred feet in breadth, near the place where it falls into the sea.

III. Mr. Bryant has referred to two passages in Homer, from which it clearly appears, that Troy must have been built in the plain, and at a considerable distance from the mountains of Ida.

——ἐπεὶ σύπω Ἴλιος ἰρὴ
Ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλισο. &c. Il. Υ. 216.
Οἶσθα γὰρ ὡς κατὰ ἄστυ ἐείλμεθα, πηλόθι δ' ὕλη
Ἀξέμεν ἐξ ὄρεος. Il. Ω. 662.

Some persons, however, still maintain, that the situation of Bournabachi corresponds with the account of Troy as given by the poet. Bournabachi, they say, stands upon a small eminence rising from the plain, and is separated by a considerable interval from the Idæan mountains. This is their language, when they are reminded that Troy was built in a plain; but when it is stated, that the sources of the Scamander must be sought for among the summits of Ida, then they tell us that the hill of Bournabachi belongs to the great chain of the Idæan mountains, and then we hear of its steep ascents and craggy precipices.

There is an unlucky passage in Homer, which is totally unintelligible,

telligible, if the hill of Bournabachi be the site of the ancient Troy. We shall request of our readers to turn to the twenty-first book of the Iliad, and to read from verse 487 to verse 571. They will then see, that it was at the beech tree, which was very near the walls, that Agenor, instigated by Apollo, deliberated with himself whether or not he should encounter Achilles. Let them particularly mark the words of Agenor at verse 555. Now we ask, how Agenor was to get from the position where he stood, to the steeps and thickets of Ida, by the Ileian plain? The scholiast says, that this was the place, ἐν ᾧ Ἴλου τάφος ἐστι.* If, then, the maps of the travellers be accurate, and if they have put Troy and the tomb of Ilus in their proper places, this passage in Agenor's speech is, as we have said, unintelligible. Every step that Agenor took across the plain must have carried him further from the mountain, and nearer to the shore.

Mr. Gell, after the example of Morritt and Chevalier, frequently speaks of the *hill* of wild fig-trees. We do not recollect that Homer has made mention of such a hill. In the sixth book, Andromache says to Hector, 'Post the army nigh the wild fig-tree, where the city is chiefly accessible, and the wall may be most easily scaled.' In the twenty-second book, Achilles and Hector ran near the watch-tower, and the wild fig-tree that is much exposed to the winds. Even the words quoted from Strabo by Mr. Dalzel, do not authorize the travellers to speak of a *hill* of wild fig-trees. It is, however, convenient for them to do so, as the hill of Bournabachi is surrounded by other hills. But we must beg leave to remind our readers, that this same wild fig-tree is described by Homer as being in the middle of the plain; and since the wild fig-tree was very near the city, the city could not have been far from the middle of the plain.

Οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἴλου σῆμα παλαιοῦ Δαρδανίδαο,
Μέσσου καπετοῖο παρ' ἐρινεὸν ἐστιόωντο,
Ἵέμενοι πόλιος (Il. Λ. 166.)

Mr. Bryant's translation of this passage ought to be thus amended. 'In the mean while, the Trojans pressed forwards by the tomb of Ilus, through the middle of the plain by the wild fig-tree, striving to get up to the city.' It is surprising that this acute writer did not perceive the full importance of this passage to his argument.

It had been generally understood from Homer, that Hector had been pursued by Achilles three times round the walls of Troy.

Mr.

* We are informed by Eustathius, that some were accustomed to write ἰδήϊον for ἰλήϊον. The travellers, we suppose, are agreed with us, in thinking the latter the right reading, as they have taken no notice of the former.

Mr. Chevalier quickly perceived the necessity of getting rid of this notion, as it was incompatible with his hypothesis. He therefore strenuously contended, that the Greek preposition πέρι ought in this instance to be translated *near, beside, hard-by.* We confess we were astonished to find that Mr. Bryant so easily abandoned this point. The question is, whether Homer ever uses the preposition πέρι before the accusative case in any other sense than as signifying *round*, or *about?* These words are often employed in our own language, without a strict attention to their original meaning and proper signification. We speak of the gardens *round* London, without thereby understanding, that London is quite encircled by gardens; and we discourse *about* many things, without thinking of the primary meaning of the word *about*, which we take to have been originally synonymous with *around.* In Greek, the preposition πέρι is often used with the same inattention to its rigid and proper sense. Thus, πέρι τριτην ὠραν, about the third hour—πέρι ἑβδομήκοντα ναῖς, about seventy ships—τα πέρι ἐμε, the things which belong to me—οἱ πέρι Σωκρατην, those about Socrates—πέρι καλὰ ῥέεθρα, about the beautiful streams—πέρι τεῖχος, about the wall. But after allowing all this latitude of sense to the preposition, there still can be no doubt that, before the accusative case, it generally signifies *round*, and especially when employed in any local description. We will even venture to assert, that it must be so understood, except where the sense necessarily limits the meaning. When Homer says,

τὰ πέρι καλὰ ῥέεθρα ἁλὸς πολυμοῖο πιφύκει,

we immediately perceive that its full force cannot be given to the preposition, because, strictly speaking, the trees and plants could not grow *round* the river. Neither, when he says,

πάντη γὰρ πέρι τεῖχος ὀρώρει ὑψιπύλοιο πόλῃος,

can we literally understand πέρι to signify *round*, since the wall ran in a long line, and the fire was only on the side of the wall next the plain; but when no such difficulty exists, then its full meaning must be given to the preposition. Mr. Dalzel, in his learned note, observes, that μαχάμενοι πέρι ἄστυ ought to be translated 'fighting about, or near the city.' But if Troy were built in a plain, as Homer says it was, there is no impropriety in supposing, that the hostile armies were engaged in different divisions, on all sides of the city. Hector says, 'Let the sacred heralds proclaim, that the youth arrived at the age of puberty, and the old men hoary with time, keep watch *round* the city, on the god-built towers.'* In this place, πέρι ἄστυ can signify neither *about*, nor *near*, the city; but must bear the interpretation which we have given it. Why, however, could not Hector have been satisfied

* Il. Θ

tisfied with having the walls guarded, which were next the plain, if Troy had stood on the hill of Bournabachi, and if the Greeks had always fought *before*, and never *round* Ilium? When Andromache so pathetically deplores her fate, in case she should be carried a captive into Greece, she adds, 'and then sometimes there will be some one who shall say, as he beholds me weeping, This was the wife of Hector, who was the most distinguished warrior among the Trojan tamers of horses, when they fought *round* Ilium.' Ὅτε Ἴλιον ἀμφεμαχοντο. Achilles in the ninth book expresses himself not less clearly,

Εἰ μίν κ' αὖθι μενον Τρωων πολιν ἀμφιμαχωμαι,
Ὡλετο μίν μοι νοστος, &c.

From all these circumstances, we are still inclined to think that Homer meant to use the preposition πέρι in its common signification before the accusative case, when he repeated it no less than five times in speaking of Hector's flight *round* the walls of Troy. If our limits allowed us, we could quote various testimonies to prove, that this was the sense in which he was understood by the ancients; and we cannot reject so much evidence, merely that the travellers may have a difficulty the less in persuading their readers that they have discovered the site of Ilium on the hill of Bournabachi. Mr. Gell, indeed, is pleased to allege, that Virgil must have understood Homer in the sense for which he contends; because, in a passage which is evidently copied from that now under consideration, he makes Turnus run in a circular direction *before* the walls, and not *round* them. We shall not stop to dispute this point with him; because, whether Virgil believed that Hector fled thrice round the walls or not, he certainly believed that his body was dragged thrice round them, which is exactly the same thing in relation to the present argument.

'Ter *circum* Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros.'

But perhaps Mr. Gell is ready to show that *circum* does not properly signify around, any more than πέρι.

'Till we took up Mr. Gell's book, we will confess we had neither read or seen any thing which could lead us to believe that there still existed any remains of ancient Troy: and recollected, without any emotions of scepticism, the lamentation which attested its complete destruction nearly two thousand years ago—*jam seges est, ubi Troja fuit:* and *etiam periere ruinæ*. Mr. Gell, however, was almost persuaded that he found some of the original marbles of Troy. He discovered the remnant of a tower of considerable dimensions, and the vestiges of the wall which encircled the acropolis: such vestiges, he adds, may be found on almost every side of the Pergama. That there are vestiges of buildings, is undeniable; but from what *data* Mr. Gell thought himself entitled to

ascribe

ascribed them to so remote an antiquity, we do not pretend to understand. In the mean time, we will venture to put a few questions to him, which we hope he will resolve in the next edition of his work. How happened it that Alexander sought for Troy among the fields, and not on the summit of the hill called Bournabachi by the Turks? How came it that the Macedonian hero was not led by these traces, which are so distinct in our days, to build upon this spot? Is it not rather strange that Cæsar could not discover the vestiges which were so obvious to Mr. Gell? Why did Lucan say, that even the very ruins were destroyed? Is it not extraordinary that Hestiæa Alexandrina, a learned lady, who wrote concerning Troy, and who was a native of Troas, should have known nothing of these remains of the ancient Ilium? For what purpose did Demetrius of Scepsis inform Strabo, that no trace was preserved of the ancient city? We do not doubt that Mr. Gell found all the vestiges of which he speaks, old marbles, and capitals of the Ionic order turned upside down in the walls of the Aga's house; but we certainly doubt as little, that the ruins on the hill of Bournabachi belonged to some of those numerous cities which, according to Strabo, were rebuilt after the Trojan war.

On the summit of the hill, Mr. Gell tells us, he found the tumulus of Hector, 'which consists of a large conic heap of stones, apparently thrown together without any order or regularity, and on the top of it is a small patch of earth producing long grass and weeds.'* When Cæsar visited the Troad, and happened carelessly to walk among some long grass, a native of Phrygia forbade him to tread on the ashes of Hector.

——Securus in alto
Gramine ponebat gressus; Phryx incola manes
Hectoreos calcare vetat.——

Who then can doubt that our traveller has discovered the very spot where Cæsar trod, and where Hector lay? The long grass still grows on the tomb: though Mr. Gell, with an eye attentive to the effects of time and nature, observed that, when he was there, the herbs were withered!† There are other evidences, however, still more infallible. Pausanias relates, that the Thebans were directed by an oracle to carry the ashes of Hector to Thebes. Our traveller found some *faint* traces of an opening having been made in the tumulus; and this, he thinks, is probably the testimony of their religious obedience. How fortunate a coincidence of circumstances for Mr. Gell!!! But this gentleman's good luck in making discoveries, can only be equalled by his sagacity in seeking for them. He not only finds the tombs of men,

* P. 92. † P. 95.

men, who died before the existence of any certain history—he not only shows the marsh, where Ulysses passed the night above three thousand years ago—but he remarks, 'that the ground near the gardens seems to have preserved in some degree the same appearance as in the time of Homer, who observed, that there was a fallow field in this situation.' *Papæ!* Who shall now deny that Troy stood on the hill of Bournabachi?

To be serious, however, we conceive that the tomb of Hector, upon which Mr. Gell has made so exulting a stand for his theory, is among the most formidable of the stumbling-blocks that have fallen in his way. It consists of small stones, no doubt; and this is the sole proof of its identity. What if Homer should give no authority for supposing that the tumulus of Hector consisted of any thing but earth? The lines in the last book are,

Αἶψα δ' ἅρ' εἰς κοίλην κάπετον θέσαν· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
Πυκνοῖσιν λάεσσι κατερρίζωσαν μεγάλοισι.
Ῥίμφα δὲ σῆμ' ἔχεαν.———

From which passage we conceive it is quite plain, that the body was laid in a grave, and covered with a number of great stones, after which the earth was heaped over it. Mr. Gell, after Mr. Chevalier, chooses to understand 'a number of great stones,'—'a great number of small stones:' whereas it is obvious that the large stones were placed to protect the body from the pressure of the earth, the heaping up of which is specified as a separate operation; and no mention whatever is made of such a pile of small loose stones as occur in the tumulus of Bournabachi. To us, indeed, it did not appear that there is any reason for considering this heap as sepulchral at all. It rather occurred to us, that as the hill was formerly cultivated, these stones had been collected together for the purpose of clearing the ground; a circumstance which is rendered more probable from the existence of several other heaps, though of less magnitude, on the adjoining parts of the hill.

It has been the practice of almost every nation, at some period of their history, to raise mounds of earth over the dead: and as we learn from Strabo, that the Mysians and Phrygians were accustomed to erect such monuments, it certainly cannot appear wonderful that these tumuli, as they are called, should be more frequent in Asia Minor, than on the continent of European Greece; or that they should be found in considerable numbers in the Troad, which appears, by the remains of several towns, to have been formerly so well inhabited. With all these facilities, we acknowledge we are rather surprised that Mr. Gell has succeeded so ill in identifying a selection of these *barrows* with the monuments of Homer's heroes. Two of these mounds, however, situate near the mouth of the Mendere Sou, have been pointed out by him

as

as the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus; their vicinity to each other, is the only possible foundation of such a supposition; for, in other respects, nothing can differ more from Homer's description. In the account which Agamemnon gives to Achilles, in the xxivth Book of the Odyssey, of the funeral rites with which he had been honoured by the Greeks, he describes the tomb as large, situated on a promontory, and visible from afar.

Ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι, θέπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον,
Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερος σθατὸς ἀιχμητάων,
Ἀκτῃ ἐπὶ πρωχάσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.

Now these tombs are at some distance from the sea, and perfectly on a level with it: it is, moreover, a fact, that a person unacquainted with the history of the Trojan war, although he would be struck with the appearance of several other mounds, might very easily leave these unnoticed, in sailing at an inconsiderable distance from the coast. This is perfectly incompatible, we conceive, with what we are made to believe concerning the great magnitude and conspicuous situation of the tomb of Achilles.

The larger of these mounds was opened some years since, by the order of M. de Choiseul, the French ambassador at the Porte; and its contents afforded, to many, an additional proof of its identity with the sepulchre of Achilles. A small bronze statue, and fragments of earthen vases were discovered in it; but Mr. Chevalier's representation of the figure, (*if we may believe the artist who first discovered that it was a figure*, and not the point of a lance,) is extremely incorrect; and from an authentic cast which we have seen, made by this same artist, there can be no doubt that by the manner of the drapery, and general style of the work, it is not to be referred to a period of higher antiquity, than when the country was under the dominion of the Romans. But even if this tomb were more ancient, and if, for the sake of argument, we suppose it to be the same, round which Alexander danced stark-naked in his frenzy; there is no reason why we should not conclude that he was equally mistaken as in the situation of the city, which certainly was an object of greater notoriety.

The ashes of Antilochus, we learn from Homer, were placed in the same tomb with those of Achilles and Patroclus; but we do not find any mention of a tumulus or cenotaph being raised in his honour. At the distance of more than a mile from those just mentioned, is a mound most conspicuously placed on a promontory; and which is indeed a land-mark to sailors far out at sea: this, Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Gell have been pleased to denominate the tomb of Antilochus,—but with a still less degree of probability; for if any tomb had been erected to his memory, it would doubtless have been near that of Achilles, in which his remains

were

were deposited: it would also have been of a smaller size, as was that of Patroclus; whereas, this is of a magnitude which is not equalled by those called the monuments of the other two friends, even if taken together. With the same wantonness, and without the shadow of foundation, a tumulus on the shore still farther south, is called that of Peneleus the Bœotian. He is said by Homer to have fallen at Troy; but there is still extant the epitaph on his tomb on the banks of the Cephisus, in his own country. (*anthолog.* ed. Steph. 499.) On that point of land which is called the Rhetæan Promontory, though at the distance of a mile from the sea, may be found a tumulus which is said to be that of Ajax. In order to disprove this assertion, nothing more is requisite than the slightest examination of the barrow itself, which we shall find to consist of the foundations and rubbish of a building, and which, from the arches that remain, and the quantity of cement scattered about, certainly cannot be considered as anterior to the subjection of the country by the Romans; though Chevalier, in the total absence of all architectural knowledge, has adduced the mode of building as a proof of its vast antiquity.

Mr. Gell (plate 17.) gives us a representation of what he calls the tomb of Ilus, and talks with great certainty about its identity with the tomb mentioned by Homer. Mr. Chevalier, however, is doubtful if any traces remained; and Mr. Morritt fairly confesses that he could find none; but Mr. Gell not only discovers this monument, but discovers it in a situation where it is not placed by Homer, and consequently where it never could have existed, *viz.* between the junction of the rivers and the sea. Now Homer, in the twenty-fourth book, makes Priam pass the tomb of Ilus before he allows his mules and horses to drink at the river. But as this part of the plain is annually flooded, if any such tumulus had existed, it must necessarily have been long since destroyed; and Mr. Gell has probably been deceived by some irregularly shaped mounds of sand, of which there are several in the neighbourhood. With equal acuteness of sight, our traveller has discovered Batieia or the tomb of Myrinna, although it has eluded the researches of former writers; but indeed, Homer's appellation of αιπεια κολωνη, a high and pointed hill, would seem to render it sufficiently obvious. This is, however, too clear for M. Gell; and accordingly, we find him asserting that a very low mound, and not of a conical shape, is the Batieia of Homer!

If Mr. Gell, however, has the advantage of Chevalier and Morritt with regard to the tomb of Ilus, he very handsomely yields the *pas* to the former of these gentlemen with regard to the monument of Æsyetes. Mr. Chevalier is perfectly confident that

a hillock called *Udjeck Taphè* must have been that monument, because the space between the promontories can be distinctly seen from it. Mr. Gell, however, is by no means so positive; for he tells us, that 'of all the monuments now existing, that of *Udjeck* has the best title to the name of Æsyetes according to Homer, if that near *Tchiblak* be excepted.' This best title, then, is only second best; and a second best title to identity, is what, we acknowledge, we do not understand.

There is yet a passage in Homer, which, we think, must be very perplexing to the travellers, in their identification of the monuments. Nestor, in the third book of the Odyssey, distinctly tells Telemachus, that Achilles, Ajax, Patroclus, and Antilochus, were buried where they fought. Now, where was that? πίελ ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο ἀναχτος—*around*, as we should translate it, the great city of King Priam—*hard-by, beside, at*, as the travellers choose to render it. But it appears from Mr. Gell's map, that the monuments in question are nine miles from Bournabachi; and from Mr. Chevalier's, that they are more than ten.

From the statement which we have made, our readers, we trust, will be in some degree enabled to judge of the value of Mr. Gell's publication; for, if they think him entirely mistaken concerning the scene of action of the Iliad, it is not likely that they will very readily pay ten guineas for his descriptions and drawings of Bournabachi and its environs. We are ready to bear testimony to the general accuracy of the delineations; and yet we cannot help being astonished, that he should have collected the materials of his book,—that he should have observed, read, reasoned, described, and drawn, in three short winter days, more than we, sluggish children of the North, should have expected him to have done in as many months. But Mr. Gell did all this, and much more. He went through the common duties of an English morning toilette; brushed his teeth every day, to the astonishment of the Turks; performed his ablutions with a scrupulousness worthy of a Mussulman; drank his Muscatel white wine; took angles; made a map; forced his way into the apartment of the women; occasioned the Aga a terrible fit of jealousy; and went to a wedding at the Asiatic castle of the Dardanelles, where two men, dressed like devils, fought with torches, and where a hideous African black carried off many trophies and great applause.

The plates, which we are told are accurately copied, prove that Mr. Gell is a tolerable draughtsman; though we could have sometimes wished, that the sky and the water had not been so *very* blue, and that the fields and the trees had not been so *very* green.

To

To elegance of style Mr. Gell disclaims all pretensions; and we readily acquit him of it. Where did he learn to write *knowls* and *splashes*, for *knolls* and *plashes*?

We shall now conclude this article with expressing a hope, that if any future traveller publish an account of the Troad, he will not dream of what he is to discover before he goes there, like Mr. Chevalier; that he will not forget to make his map on the spot, like Mr. Morritt; and that he will not do every thing in a hurry, like Mr. Gell: We believe we need not caution him not to drink of the warm spring of Bournabachi, without having a thought of Homer in his mind.

ART. II. *Hints to the Manufacturers of Great Britain on the consequences of the Irish Union, and the System since pursued, of borrowing in England for the service of Ireland.* By the Earl of Lauderdale. pp. 51. 8vo. Edinburgh, Constable & Co.; London, Longman; and Manchester, Thomsons. 1805.

ALTHOUGH, in this tract, Lord Lauderdale discusses a practical subject of political economy, yet he carries on the argument by appeals to the general principles of the science. There is a considerable degree of force and precision in his manner of stating the question; and the reasoning has no connexion with the erroneous doctrines contained in his larger work. The author may even deserve praise for adducing a new argument upon a topic already well considered; and the applause due to ingenuity would certainly be his, if real ingenuity could exist without solidity. We do not by any means assert, that in the tone and temper of his observations a spirit of faction can be discovered; but we conceive that the workings of this principle may be traced in the plan of the piece, and that no feelings, less strong, could have made a person, so well acquainted with the science as Lord Lauderdale, forget the most undisputed doctrines of political economy; nay, appeal to the most exploded errors of the older systems, so uniformly as he has done in the construction of these '*Hints*.' We purpose to lay before our readers an abstract of the argument, and a brief exposition of its fallacy. The title of the pamphlet might give some ground for expecting a general attack upon the Union; but the noble author confines himself entirely to one of its supposed consequences—the practice of raising in England the loans required for the Irish service.

Our author begins by drawing a parallel between the history of civil liberty, and of the freedom of trade. The former is now

no

no longer in danger from violent exertions of Royal authority, nor the latter from direct prohibitions and grants of monopoly. But as the one may be undermined by the milder and more subtile exercise of influence, so may the other, according to Lord Lauderdale, be gradually impaired by the commercial and financial arrangements which are constantly innovating our economical system. The freedom of trade, he observes, is the birthright of Englishmen; and he gives an appendix of quotations from Lord Coke, and C. J. Fortescue, to illustrate this point—with a list of the statutes by which that invaluable privilege is secured. The concluding sentence of the pamphlet, too, sums up the whole argument, by stating, that if the present system be pursued, 'our manufacturers will discover, that the freedom of trade which Lord Coke pronounced to be their birthright, and which is guarded and recognized by so many statutes, has been imperceptibly, but effectually, cramped and impaired by the financial arrangements between England and Ireland.' p. 47.

It must be remembered, then, that our author holds the freedom of trade to be struck at by the practice of borrowing in England for the service of Ireland; and we are now to see how this practice produces such an effect.

The remittances made from Ireland to the absentees exceeded 136,000*l.* at the time of the revolution; and this sum, in 1729, had increased to 627,000*l.* Our author contends that the non-residence occasioned by the Union and other circumstances, must have augmented those remittances, between the year 1729 and the present period, at least in the proportion above stated of 136 to 627. Hence he infers, that the sum of 2,890,000*l.* is the smallest sum which we can admit to be the amount of absentee remittances at this day. But, besides the remittances for absentee expenditure, the practice of borrowing in England for the Irish service, occasions a remittance of a million and a half to London. The whole sum, then, which (to use Lord Lauderdale's expression) must now annually be sent over from Ireland to Great Britain, without any return, amounts to 4,390,000*l.*; nay, as the practice in question is continued, and as the absentee estates rise in value, the amount of this remittance must increase. Now, the excess of exports above imports in Ireland, is about 1,400,000*l.* according to Lord Lauderdale's computation: Therefore, says he, there remains a sum of nearly three millions to be provided for. How can Ireland find this? Mines she has none; and all the coin in her circulation could not pay the balance for one year. Goods therefore must be sent; a demand must be created in the English market for Irish commodities; and the manner in which this will be effected, our author thinks it not difficult to show.

So

So long as any gold remains in Ireland, the difference of exchange between the two countries may be limited by the expense of transporting and ensuring bullion from the one to the other.—But when the stock is exhausted, no such limits can be affixed. Universal experience, and especially the history of our remittances to the continent during the last war, demonstrates, that the exchange must always be against the country which has a balance of debt to pay; and that the exchange must rise against it, until either gold is found to discharge the debt, or the exportation of commodities is made at prices sufficiently low to force the market. The rise of the exchange against Ireland will therefore operate as a direct premium upon the exportation of Irish goods into Great Britain; and this country will be glutted with the manufactures of the sister kingdom, in the same manner that the Continent was filled with British produce during the continuance of the unfavourable exchange with Hamburgh, which was owing to the same cause—large remittances from Britain to the Continent: nay, as gold is more scarce in Ireland than it then was in England, our author contends, that the markets of this country will be more filled with Irish manufactures, than the German markets were with English goods during the period alluded to. The remittance of the loans to Ireland, is the only thing which prevents this effect from being already felt. As soon as that practice ceases, the interest of all the loans contracted in England, for Irish service, must be annually remitted from Ireland, without any remittance of principal from England to Ireland; and then there is but one way of providing for this balance; the English markets must be filled with Irish goods, at such prices as will enable the Irish manufacturer to undersell the manufacturer of this country.

Our author, at this part of his argument, enters into several instructive details upon the comparative effects of labour and skill in promoting those branches of manufacture which are likely to be affected by the forced competition from Ireland. He shows, we think, very clearly, that it is labour, and not skill, which is chiefly requisite to the production of the main articles in the list: and, that a want of capital should prevent Ireland from beating us in our own markets, he conceives to be impossible; from the consideration, that Ireland will acquire capital both by the progress of the operation in question, and by its effects in drawing English capitalists over to the sister kingdom. Thus, neither our superior skill, nor our superior capital, will enable us to resist the competition of our Irish neighbours; our manufactures will be ruined, our manufacturers forced to emigrate, and the remittances of Irish interest will thus consummate the destruction of British

tish industry, as the remittances of tribute from the provinces of Rome, in the form of grain, ruined the agriculture of the Roman territory.

The sum and substance of this argument may therefore be reduced to the following propositions. The practice of borrowing in England for the service of Ireland, occasions a violent change in the commercial intercourse between the two countries, and forces a quantity of Irish produce into the English market, proportional to the interest of the sums borrowed; and thus tends to undermine the manufacturing industry of England. We purposely leave out of view a variety of points stated in the subordinate parts of Lord Lauderdale's inquiry; and, in order that the way may be cleared for the discussion of the main argument, we offer no objections to his statements of the sums mentioned in the above abstract of his computations. Our dissent is quite general, and is entered against his fundamental principles; nor can it be affected, we conceive, by those farther illustrations which he promises to give, should his doctrine be controverted. (p. 46.)

The place where a loan is most advantageously contracted for any part of the empire, must depend upon the distribution of those masses of unemployed capital which naturally seek the service of the state, in the manner frequently described in former articles of this Journal. The metropolis of the empire is, from a variety of circumstances, the chief resort of the proprietors of that capital; but it is not the only resort; and portions of stock are accordingly drawn from the most distant provinces into the public funds. The greatest saving, however, is made to the Government and to the country, when the loan is contracted in the place of greatest resort of capitalists: because their competition gives the Government better terms, and because the lenders save the expense of transport and ensurance. If a loan is opened in Dublin, a portion of English capital must travel thither, unless it is maintained that all the money wanted can be found in Dublin; and the contracting of the loan in London, will assuredly not prevent some Irish capital from finding its way across the Channel. But in order to prove that the loan should be contracted in Dublin, rather than in London, Lord Lauderdale must begin by showing that the kind of stock in question abounds more in the former than in the latter place. The loss incurred by sending over to Ireland, capital borrowed in England for the Irish service, is evidently out of the question: for, had the loan been opened in Dublin, the same capital must have travelled thither at the same expense; and the expense must have been defrayed by the same parties, *i. e.* by the borrowers, either in actual payment for its transport, or which is the same thing, in a *bonus* to the receivers of the loan to tempt them to send it, unless, indeed, the portion which comes from

from this side of the water, is so inconsiderable, that the whole terms of the transaction may be regulated by the sums obtained immediately in Ireland. All these considerations have been neglected by Lord Lauderdale, who seems to view the place where loans are contracted on the cheapest terms, as a matter of arbitrary arrangement, and whose whole argument proceeds upon the assumption, that the entire capital lent to the government, must belong to the spot where the loan is opened. Borrowing in England, according to him, lays Ireland under annual contribution to the whole amount of the interest, as if the Irish capital which would be lent to the Government, were the transaction carried on in Dublin, can be held as excluded from this channel by the circumstance of opening the loan in London. It surely need not be demonstrated, however, that the same portion of Irish stock will either be vested directly in such a loan, or will fill up the vacancy occasioned by English stock being drawn thither. Whichever of these things happens, the interest paid by Ireland, will go precisely to the same quarters as if the loan had been contracted in Dublin. If the Irish capital is vested in the loan, the interest will be paid to its proprietors directly; if that capital supplies the place of British stock lent to Government, its profits will be returned from Britain to Ireland, at the same time that the interest of the capital which it supplants is remitted from Ireland to Britain. In like manner, the opening a loan in Dublin could never prevent a remittance of the interest to Britain, unless it is pretended that such an arrangement would *create* a clear surplus capital in Ireland; for a great portion of British capital would either be drawn over at once, and lent to the Government in Dublin, or would be attracted to replace the Irish capital which was to be lent to Government; and, in both cases, its profits would be remitted to Britain. This is a fundamental objection to all Lord Lauderdale's speculations. But other considerations naturally suggest themselves in opposition to his tenets, even upon the peculiar grounds on which he has placed the discussion.

The great difficulty, according to Lord Lauderdale, consists in providing the interest which Ireland must continue to remit for the sums borrowed from England, after the assistance of new loans shall fail. Admitting, then, what this argument takes for granted, that the act of raising the loan in London draws more English capital into the service of Ireland than would otherwise go to that quarter; let us look at the whole extent of this difficulty. The sums transmitted from England, are surely not annihilated in Ireland; they continue, in various forms, to yield a revenue which will permanently assist in defraying the interest to be paid for the use of them. But, placing this consideration entirely out of view; either Ireland has within her own bounds capital to

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the amount of the loans, or she has not. If she has not, there is an end of the argument against borrowing in England. If she has, the revenue yielded by that capital will suffice to pay the interest due to England; for it will remain in the hands of individuals, in various channels of profitable employment; and a part of its annual returns will be remitted to the creditor country.

But the manner of making this remittance, affords our author the chief part of his argument. The interest of the debt must be sent over, according to him, in Irish manufactures, so cheap as to ruin our own. Now, we may ask, how the necessity of making this remittance to England, instead of keeping the interest in Ireland, can alter either the total supply of, or the total demand for, Irish manufactures? The same industry will be exerted, in the one case, as in the other; and the same persons will continue to want Irish goods, whether the Irish funds are the property of persons residing on the east or on the west of the channel. Supposing that the rate of exchange furnished a temptation to send these goods at low prices into the English markets, what would become of the former purchasers,—of the persons in Ireland, or in America, who used to buy them before the exchange was unfavourable? Those persons must still buy them, and must furnish a price which can be paid to the English creditors of Ireland, or, which is the same thing, must buy them of those creditors. The supply of, and the demand for, English manufactures, must also remain the same. So that no change whatever can be produced upon the market for goods produced by both countries, unless it is asserted, that the remittance of interest is attended with a *clear addition* to the total amount of goods manufactured in the debtor country; and if this happy consequence is admitted to flow from the arrangemeut in question, it surely requires no farther defence, and admits of no higher praise.

It may, however, reduce the whole of this discussion to a more narrow compass, if we now remind our author, that there is no one view of the subject which does not apply to the financial arrangements between different parts of great Britain. Every thing which can be asserted of loans raised in London for the service of Ireland, must be applicable to loans raised in London for the service of Yorkshire. The channel which separates the two islands cannot surely affect this question. He who maintains that the loans wanted for the public service in Ireland, should be negotiated in Dublin, must, if he is consistent, recommend that a loan should be opened in every county town, for the service of the district. Certainly, the very same difficulties lie in the way of remitting from Yorkshire to London, the sums required to defray the share borne by that county in the payment

ment of the public creditors, which Lord Lauderdale has alleged will prevent Ireland from paying her English creditors their yearly revenue. Luckily, the same facilities exist in the two cases; and the internal circulation of the Island is as little affected by the arrangement which makes London the centre of its financial operations, as the great internal circulation of the empire, composed of both Islands, is deranged by extending the same improvement a step further, and making their common metropolis also the centre of the whole imperial administration of finance.

It is not difficult to perceive in what manner this circulation is carried on, so far as affects the present discussion. Let us suppose that there are no more loans required for the service of Ireland, and that the interest of former loans continues to be remitted from thence, just as the interest of the loans, shared by capitalists in London, continues to be remitted from the provinces, after the event of a peace precludes the necessity of borrowing every year. Ultimately only one effect can follow from the constitution of the debt and the consequent payment of interest—the creditors must receive part of the taxes raised in the debtor country. Suppose they reside in the debtor country, still they must receive it; and the same circumstances that enable the payers of taxes to contribute when the public creditor resides in their neighbourhood, must enable them to contribute to the very same extent when he resides at a greater distance. The manufacturer who paid taxes by the profits on cloth sold in Ireland, and thus contributed part of the interest paid by Government to the capitalist residing in Dublin, will surely sell his cloth for the same profit after that capitalist shall have removed to London; and the expense of transmitting the interest from Dublin to London is all that can enter into the present question, —an expense occasioned by the want of capital in Ireland, and not at all affected by the choice of the place where the loan is contracted. When one part of the interest has been sent over, Irish commodities will be sold in England to bring it back, or in other countries to replace it. The difficulty is not to get money but goods; and if Ireland can manufacture enough to pay the interest of her debt in Dublin, she will find it easy to make the same payments in London.

These considerations, it appears to us, exhaust the whole question; yet it is impossible to dismiss it entirely from our consideration, without taking some notice of the gross misapplication of language, of which the noble author has been guilty, in speaking of the apprehended competition of the Irish manufacturers as 'a violation of the *freedom* of trade!' The whole

of his argument, indeed, is exactly of a piece with the exploded reasonings of those who formerly contended *against* this very freedom. It is a pleading in behalf of the *monopoly* of the English manufacturers; and seems to us to lead much more naturally to a system of restraining and prohibitory laws against importation from Ireland, than to any alteration in the practice of borrowing in this country for the service of the sister kingdom. If the goods of which we stand in need can be furnished cheaper from Ireland than at home, it is our wisest policy to let Ireland furnish them; and if our manufacturers are tempted to emigrate to that country by the prospect of greater profits, it is for our interest that they should be allowed to emigrate. We are not of opinion, indeed, that any such consequences are likely to follow from the arrangements which have excited Lord Lauderdale's apprehensions: but if they were to follow, we conceive it to be quite evident that they must be considered as proofs of the freedom of trade, and not as instances of its violation.

ART. III. *Isabel, from the Spanish of Garcilaso de la Vega, with other Poems and translations from the Greek, Italian, &c. &c.* By Robert Walpole, Esq. Cambridge, 1805.

MR. Walpole, as we collect from his preface and the substance of his book, having determined to learn the Spanish and Italian languages, judiciously provided himself with a copy of the Parnaso Espnol, and the London selections of Italian poetry. Esteeming it the best way of mastering those tongues, he immediately began to translate with the assistance of a dictionary; and, being sufficiently pleased with the productions of his pen, he has since committed them to the press. In the title-page is a motto from Tasso, 'Nè leggano i severi i detti nostri.' We are in doubt, whether the author meant by these words to deprecate the severity of criticism, or to warn those, whose delicacy might be easily offended, that his poetry might not be found congenial to their notions of morality. As the author professed that these translations were made for the purpose of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the languages, we conceived that they must, at all events, be faithful copies; and, as such, whether executed with more or less skill, they could not fail of raising some interest. But we find that, when he purchased the Parnaso Espanol, he received from the late translators of Anacreon and Camoens, that magic wand which can embellish the simplest productions of ancient writers with rich and voluptuous imagery. Without this assistance, the volume,

volume, which is very miscellaneous, might perhaps have worn too motley an aspect; but, as it is, the most pleasing uniformity reigns throughout the whole. Greek, Sicilian, Spanish, Italian, French, and German, all appear in the same sparkling uniform, one gay livery of love and pleasure; the same voluptuous smile unbends the brow of the Greek epigrammatist, the Spanish warrior, and the pastoral poet of Zurich. Delighted as we must have been by the perusal of a work, throughout which (to use the author's own expression)

'Gay *dreams* of future bliss our thoughts employ,
And *bathe* in deep *delight* the entranced soul,' p. 25.

we could not see, without regret, in this bagnio of delight, the venerable Spaniard shorn of his whiskers, and polished by a pumice-stone, and the ancients attired in the foppery of modern fashions.

Grateful as such effusions may be to the vitiated taste of many readers, we cannot too strongly deprecate the system, upon which a certain sect of versificators have lately proceeded, of using the respectable character of some old poet, whose name is better known than his writings in England, as a safeguard and recommendation for their own productions, which perhaps might have otherwise attracted too feebly the notice and admiration of the public. Two evils arise from this practice;—that much trivial and sometimes impure poetry is more easily circulated, and that the well deserved reputation of ancient writers is materially injured. We are far from intending to assert, that the volume before us is indelicate; but a voluptuous strain breathes throughout the whole of it, which is not warranted by the original poems. We may venture to assert, that not a line in this publication is faithfully translated from the Spanish: if such an one, indeed, could be found, it would stand like a Doric column in the midst of Gothic fretwork. Many of the best writers of Spain served with reputation in her armies: and the character of her old lyric poetry was, like that of her warriors, stately and magnificent; often empty and pompously prolix; sometimes borrowing epigrammatical conceit from the Italians, but never refined and corrupt. A passage from Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, addressed to Philip the Second, will show, that they could sometimes reach the highest strains of poetry.

'O si, quando la trompa horrible diere
Señal en los exercitos, y tienda
La roja cruz el viento en las banderas,
Y de la muerte la vision horrenda
Envuelta en humo y polvo discurriere
Por medio las esquadras y armas fieras,

Tu nombre ha de sonar en las primieras
Voces, que diere la Espanola gente,
Pidiendo por tu medio la victoria.'

i. e. literally, 'Or whether (when the horrible trumpet shall give the signal to the armies, and the wind distend the red cross upon the banners, and, wrapt in smoke and dust, the dreadful vision of Death shall hold its course through the proud squadrons and arms) thy name shall sound amongst the first voices which the Spanish nation shall utter, praying, through thy means, for victory.' Such poetry, though it loses its harmony, cannot altogether lose its energy, in a prose translation. We should rejoice to see the best specimens of Spanish verse transplanted into our language by a skilful hand, which would carefully preserve their peculiarities, without engrafting on them foreign fancies, or fashioning them after the style of any new school of English poets.

Milton has somewhere observed, that he never could delight in making 'whole traductions;' and indeed (though a good version of a beautiful passage afford great pleasure, because more difficult to execute than original composition, in which the writer follows the bent of his own imagination) the translator of a whole poem is bound in a great measure by the faults of his author. Hence it is too often his fate to receive scanty commendation for the beauties which he may have carefully preserved, (perhaps brought nearer to perfection,) and to be stigmatized for defects of the original, which have been more obnoxious to him than to his reader. On this account, several of our most esteemed authors introduced much foreign beauty into their poetry, not by *whole traductions,* but by appropriating to themselves select passages, or extracting some precious thought or expression.

'Nare captantes, nec ineleganti,
Mane quicquid de violis eundo
Surripit aura.'

Whoever now follows their example, must expect to be assailed by an unmerciful din, as a plagiarist; a hue and cry which has done perhaps more detriment to the taste of the present age, than any expedient that could have been devised to vitiate it. The beauties of Gray were derived from numberless sources. Pope borrowed, with impunity, whole lines from Dryden and Milton, Tasso from Petrarca, Virgil from Ennius; the Italians gleaned from each other, and the Spaniards from them, with no sparing hand. The chorus, which is perhaps most beautiful in Tasso's Aminta, 'O bella età de l' oro,' is for the most part altered from the Vendemiatore of Tansillo, a licentious poem, which its author in his graver years attempted to suppress. But a writer of the present day dares not, except in the avowed character of a translator,

lator, attempt to perfect the expression of any idea, which has been barely thrown out by another. His attention must therefore be directed to novelty, rather than excellence; and his productions are more likely to be extravagant, than chaste and classical.

A new school of poets has however lately arisen, who have recourse to a happy expedient, to enable them (sacrificing the boast of originality) to make use of the ideas of foreign writers, without submitting to the difficult duties of a translator, who is bound to preserve the thoughts and expressions of his prototype unmixed, and to attend even to his costume. They make choice of some author who has been little read in England; and, borrowing some ideas (perhaps not the leading thought) from his poem, they compress, enlarge, alter, and embellish with amatory expressions, according to their own fancy, preserving little more than the name of their original in the title-page. Mr. Walpole has perhaps surpassed all the writers of this sect in the art of alteration. *Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis:* with him an elegy is transformed into a sonnet, a pastoral into an ode, and a serious sonnet into a love-song. We imagine that, with equal facility, he would translate the Iliad into a tragedy, with an ode or two of Pindar for prologue and epilogue.

The volume before us commences with a lyric poem entitled Isabel, which is prefaced by the following words:

'The reader is here presented with a translation of *the poem* of Garcilaso de la Vega, written on the death of Isabel de Freyre, the wife of Don Antonio de Fonseca. It is to be found in Parnaso Español, vol. II. in *the egloga*, in which Salicio and Nemoroso are introduced as the speakers. By the former, Garcilaso himself is represented; by the latter, the husband of Isabel.'

The translator, having probably never seen the works of Garcilaso, could not be expected to know that these were not the only lines which he wrote in honour of Isabel de Freyre; nor the eclogue, from which they are extracted, the only one in which Salicio and Nemoroso are interlocutors; but he might have seen, in that very volume of the Parnaso, that it is by no means certain that Nemoroso represented the husband of Isabel. It has been supposed that the famous poet Boscan, the friend and companion of Garcilaso, was intended, and that the word was formed from the similarity of his name to *bosque*, a grove.

In the first book of Boscan's poems (edit. 1576, fol. 40,) we find some verses, which are probably addressed to her.

'Señora doña Ysabel,
Tan cruel
Es la vida que consiento,
Que me mata mi tormento,' &c.

The

The idea that Nemoroso meant her husband, originated with Herrera, but Don Luis Zapata, in his *Miscellanea*, positively contradicts it, and states that Fonseca had no habits of intimacy with Garcilaso, whose friend Boscan had been the *servidor* of Doña Isabel before her marriage.

We shall now compare the first lines of Mr. Walpole's poem with the original passage in Garcilaso, of which we shall add a close translation, for the benefit of such of our readers as may not be masters of the Spanish language.

'Corrientes aguas, puras, cristalinas;
Arboles, que os estais mirando en ellas;
Verde prado de fresca sombra lleno;
Aves, que aqui sombrais vuestras querellas;
Yedra, que por los arboles caminas
Torciendo el paso por su verde seno;
Yo me vi tan ajeno
Del grave mal que siento
Que de puro contento,
Con vuestra soledad me recreaba;
Donde con dulce sueño reposaba,
O con el pensamiento discurria.
Por donde no hallaba
Sino memorias llenas de alegria.'

i. e. literally, 'Running, pure, crystalline waters! Trees, that behold yourselves reflected in them! Green meadows, full of fresh shade! Birds, that here diffuse your lamentations! Ivy, that climbest the trees, bending thy steps along their green bosom! Once I saw myself so foreign to the heavy ills which now I feel, that from pure contentment I recreated myself in your solitude; where I reposed with pleasant slumbers, or discoursed with my thoughts, from which I gathered nothing but recollections full of cheerfulness.'

We shall mark by italics the words in Mr. Walpole's translation which have no warrant in the original; and it will appear how few of Garcilaso's thoughts are expressed in the English stanzas.

'Ye crystal floods, *that lave*
With gently murmuring wave
These banks, where spring its earliest sweets exhales!
Ye *lofty* shades, that show
Within the stream below
Your *broad* boughs *bending to the whispering gales!*

'Ye verdant plains *and groves*,
That Melancholy loves,
Where pours the bird *of night* her softest lays;
Ah, scenes that ever dear
To memory still appear,
For still they paint the joys of former days!'

The

The four first verses of Garcilaso's stanza are here stretched into nine of Mr. Walpole's lines, and the remaining three stand in lieu of all the rest of it: yet, perhaps, there are few passages in the volume more faithfully translated.

In the last stanza of this poem we observe a curious blunder, which has arisen from the short acquaintance which the writer seems to have had with the Italian and Spanish poets. After saying, that the soul of Isabel treads the *empyreal sky*, which is not mentioned in the Spanish, he adds—

'There, in the realms of light
With purest ether bright,
To sounds of bliss our raptur'd lyres shall wake;
While crown'd with blushing flow'rs
From never-fading bow'rs,
Through the third heaven our onward march we take.'

He might as justly have said, that a person standing on the roof of a high building was going up stairs through the third story. If he had been acquainted with the system of philosophy that was adopted by the Italian and Spanish writers of the 15th century, and had read a little more of their poetry, he would have known, that the *empireo cielo* was the highest seat above all the other heavens, and that the third heaven was that of Venus. On this account, it is so frequently mentioned as the abode of departed beauty, that Mr. Walpole's quotation of a line from Ariosto, in which the words *terzo cielo* occur, was very superfluous. We are informed in the note, that the author has discovered the passage 'since translating the above.' Had he looked into Dante or Petrarca, his discoveries might have been carried a more profitable length.

In p. 16. we find a sonnet translated from Garcilaso. The eight first lines are compressed into four; then follows a voluptuous description, of which we can discover nothing in the Spanish.

'Now heaves that bosom with luxuriance high;
Now beam the thrilling glances from thine eye.'

The next lines in Garcilaso are beautiful; but the close has perhaps too much conceit; they are, however, completely altered in the English.

'Coyed de vuestra alegre primavera
El dulce fruto, antes que el tempo ayrado
Cubra de nieve la hermosa cumbre.
Marchitará la rosa el viento elado.
Todo lo mudará la edad ligera
Por no hacer mudanza en su costumbre.'

i. e. *literally*, 'Gather the sweet fruit of your cheerful springtime, before the stormy season cover the beauteous brow with snow.

snow. The frosty wind will wither the rose. Fickle time will change every thing, to avoid changing his own custom.'

'O heed the moment! pluck the flower of love,
Or ere it fade and wither in the blast!
Mark through the glass of Time the swift sands move,
And age o'er all its darkening mantle cast.
And when that eye is dimm'd, and wintry snow
Whitens those clustering locks, Ah! then no more
Will youths to thee their sighs of passion pour,
Nor e'er a second spring thy faded beauty know.'

The author might have published these lines as his own, without much fear of being taxed with borrowing from the Spanish. But, besides the departure from the sense, there is a more striking deviation from the metre and structure of the sonnet. *The legitimate sonnet is a poem of fourteen equal lines of a certain length, divided by the sense, as well as the rhyme, into two quatrains and two tercets.* Some of our old sonneteers introduced, from the worst Italian writers, a spurious form, in which a detached quatrain, followed by a couplet, was substituted for the tercets. Encouraged by this example, some of our later writers have presented the public (under the name of a sonnet) with three elegiac stanzas, concluded by a solitary couplet. Mr. Walpole, commiserating the forlorn situation of this unhappy couplet, has admitted it into the centre of the fabric. In some of his sonnets, it takes precedence of the third stanza; in that which we have quoted, it appears immediately after the first; and the whole is ingeniously wound up by an alexandrine. As Mr. Walpole has transformed sonnets into songs, and elegies into sonnets, we ought not to be surprised at his disregarding their peculiarities. Indeed, the structure and excellence of this difficult species of composition is not sufficiently understood and valued in this country, to reward a writer for the labour he must bestow on it. Men are naturally inclined to depreciate and ridicule what they have never studied, unless it be of known utility; and many (who ignorantly imagine that all Italian and Spanish sonnets are a monotonous repetition of amatory trifles, because some are certainly so) sneer at the very name of a sonnet, as if it were the most insignificant of compositions. Menzini, however, in his Art of Poetry, observes, that 'the sonnet is the touchstone of great geniuses; a test, which many a poet of considerable eminence must decline, or the base alloy of his verse will be detected. The inaccuracies and faults of a longer work may escape the reader; but, in a sonnet, the smallest flaw casts disgrace upon the whole: the ear is offended, if one rhyme be awkwardly introduced, if the whole do not flow with equal connexion and with harmony, or if the close do not depend neatly

neatly upon the subject proposed.' This species of composition, which an excellent writer hath called 'the most exquisite jewel of the Muses,' whether originally invented by the Sicilians or Provenceaux, was brought to perfection by the Italians; and from them we unquestionably received it. With us, however, it has never been completely naturalized. Milton and Gray, who have cultivated it with most success, both drunk from the sweet streams of Italy, where a single sonnet can give immortality to its author, while the longer poems of his contemporaries are buried in oblivion. But many English poets of later date, seem to have wholly lost sight of its peculiar structure; and the spurious and paltry compositions, which, under that title, have been lavished on the public, have tended greatly to debase the character of that branch of poetry. Its rigid laws cannot be better explained than by the words of Boileau:

'Un jour ce Dieu bisarre,
Voulant pousser à bout tous les rimeurs François,
Inventa du sonnet les rigoureuses lois;
Voulut, *qu'en deux quatrains de mesure pareille*
La rime avec deux sons frappât huit fois l'oreille;
Et qu'ensuite six vers artistement rangés
Fussent en deux tercets par le sens partagés.
Surtout de ce poëme il bannit la license,
Lui-même en mesura le nombre et la cadence,
Defendit qu'un vers foible y pût jamais entrer,
Ni qu'un mot deja mis osât s'y remontrer.
Du reste il l'enrichit d'une beauté supreme;
Un sonnet sans defaut vaut seul un long poëme.'

The subject should, according to the strictest division, be set forth in the first, and illustrated in the second quatrain; confirmed by the first tercet, and concluded in the last: and much of the excellence of a sonnet will depend upon the beauty of its close, which, without being epigrammatical, should artfully wind up the subject with some striking thought or expression. Such are the laws from which the most esteemed writers have never entirely departed; nor can a sonnet be deemed faultless, which does not in a great degree adhere to them. Gray has observed them scrupulously. Petrarca, Casa, Bembo, and other distinguished poets, often bestowed the labour of months upon one sonnet;—and in later years, Lazzarini and Ghedino were not less industrious. It is said of Bembo, that he had a desk with forty divisions, through which his sonnets passed in succession before they were published; and at each transition they received some correction. Our modern innovators should weigh accurately the grounds of their alterations, before they discard the regulations established by those

those who most deeply considered their object. The Italians in general possess, perhaps, a nicer ear for poetry, as well as for music, than we do. We have seen it somewhere asserted, that in English sonnets, the established form should not be preserved, because the poverty of our language in rhymes rendered it too difficult, and that it had no peculiar beauty to overrule this objection. To us it appears, that whoever does not perceive the beauty of that structure and division which has been invariably preserved by the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French writers, must have a very defective ear for poetical harmony.

—'Non val quella sì magra scusa
Di dir, che troppo rigida è la legge,
Che in quattordici versi sta rinchiusa;
E che mal si sostiene e mal si regge
Per scarcezza di rime.'

But we deny that the English language is poorer in rhymes than that of Spain or of Italy. The number of our monosyllables, our final consonants, and the position of our accents, naturally lead us to single rhymes, whilst the Spaniards and Italians almost necessarily use the double; but the correspondence of terminations in English is by no means less suitable to poetical purposes. Many words, indeed, of great value in rhymed verse, we have suffered to grow obsolete, and several of them deserve to be revived. Writers of the present day should rather restore the currency of sterling old terms, than disfigure the language by new coinage. The exclusive veneration with which an Englishman looks to the works of Milton and Shakspeare, has induced him to reject many excellent words that are not sanctioned by their authority;—and the imperfection of Johnson's dictionary, to which all resort, has in a manner discarded them.

Returning from this digression, which has been caused by the whimsical form of Mr. Walpole's sonnets, we find in p. 19, of the volume before us, a sonnet from the Spanish of Figueroa, which makes its appearance in the shape of four lyric stanzas. The expressions and the metre have nearly equal resemblance to the original. Figueroa writes 'Viene la noche,' *the night comes*, which is thus translated:

'The pearly car of eve
In silver radiance rides on high.'

The translator, indeed, seems greatly enamoured of the sun and moon. In the concluding stanza, 'El sol descubre su rostro,' *the sun discovers his face*, is rendered,

'The *golden* morn appears,
And *blushes* in the etherial plain.'

The original, consisting of fourteen long lines, and the English of sixteen short ones, of which four are occupied by golden blushes

blushes and pearly couches, it may be readily conceived, that the substance of the sonnet is altogether omitted. Had Francisco de Figueroa written thus, he would never have acquired the surname of El divino, which he bore, as well as Fernando de Herrera.

In p. 14, we meet with a translation from Gessner. The characteristic mark of his poetry, and indeed of all his works, is simplicity; but even the purest breeze from the pastures of Switzerland is polluted by the voluptuous refinement of his translator. The sixth stanza is addressed to a zephyr.

'Da flattert um ihr weiches bett,
Und weckt das schönste kind;
Mit sanftem spiel auf ihrer brust,
Und ihrer süssen mund.'

i. e. Then flutter round her soft bed, and wake the lovely maid; playing gently on her breast, and her sweet mouth.' These lines are simple and beautiful; but they have been thus vitiated by the translator:

'*Pant* o'er her lip and cheek's bright hues,
And *heave* upon her *heaving* breast.'

We think the original composer of loose and voluptuous poetry deserves some censure; but he who thus stains the innocent writings of another, is still more reprehensible.

This volume contains several pieces said to be translated from the Greek Anthology. In every line of them, we meet with 'golden locks,' or 'eyes of liquid blue;' 'vermeil cheeks,' and 'rising hills of snow;' ardent wishes, circling arms,' and 'impassioned sighs.' Mr. Walpole informs us that he should have printed the Greek lines, if he had had time to examine again the Anthologia. We believe, indeed, that if the author has forgotten which verses he had intended to translate, the originals could not be again discovered without a long and difficult search.

The volume closes with six Alcaic stanzas, which are said to be translated from Petrarca's 'Chiare, fresche, e dolci acque;' and indeed the two last lines, though borrowed from Horace, remind us of one in that canzone. If the author had seen a very elegant translation of this poem, in Glyconic verse, by M. Antonio Flaminio, he would probably not have published these stanzas, which are the only Latin poetry in the volume. To our surprise we find, at the end, a postscript in Latin. Mr. Walpole's female readers will probably imagine that it contains some gross indelicacy, which it was thought fit to veil from their eyes; but we can assure them that the author merely laments therein the depravity of human nature, and informs us, mysteriously, that he has undertaken some work of greater moment, '*quod ere literariâ magis erit;*' and that he has suppressed certain Greek poems (with which

which he had thought of favouring the public,) because nothing ought to be submitted to their most fastidious judgment which hath not been turned frequently on the anvil, and wrought with the greatest industry. The poems we have reviewed were probably, in his estimation, sufficiently hammered, filed, and polished. We are ignorant whether the author clothed these elegant sentences in a dead language, to give a specimen of his Latin prose, or because he wished them to be mysterious and φωνῆντα συνετοῖσιν only. Their obscure and unclassical construction induces us to believe the latter was his intention.

We cannot close this article without observing, that from the general facility and harmony of his verse, Mr. Walpole appears to possess talents, which deserve to be better cultivated and better directed. If he will translate faithfully, or follow entirely his own imagination; if he will believe that Waller and Prior are better models than Mr. Little, for light lyric poetry; he will easily attain that respectable literary character, which we have every reason to think his abilities entitle him to challenge. Though we have expressed our disapprobation of the system pursued in this publication, we can assure him that we are very far from wishing to place his talents in an unfavourable light; but are most desirous of redeeming them from the vicious school into which he seems to be initiated. We wish to see him stand upon his own ground; and had rather he would move wherever his own genius may conduct him, than become the humble sectary of Mr. Little. We will quote some stanzas translated from Kleist, which will prove that Mr. Walpole can write with elegance.

'O thou, who through the silent air
Dost sail on fragrant pinions by;
Say, Zephyr, hast thou seen my fair?
And dost thou waft to me her sigh?

And ye, clear streams, as on ye flow,
From me the lovely maiden greet;
And murmuring whisper all my wo,
Whene'er your waters kiss her feet.

O say that since she sped her flight
From these sad scenes so gay before,
Nature is rob'd in saddest night,
And wears her wonted charms no more.

Oh where does she delight to stray?
What plains with her lov'd presence smile?
Where does the dance her limbs display?
Where does her voice the hours beguile?

ART. IV. *An Essay on Naval Tactics, Systematical and Historical. With Explanatory Plates. In Four Parts.* By John Clerk, Esq. of Eldin, Fellow of the Society of Scotish Antiquaries, and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Second Edition. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. London, Longman & Rees. 4to. 1804.

A FEW copies of the first part of this valuable Essay, were printed and distributed among the author's friends, in the beginning of the year 1782. It was reprinted and published in 1790; the second, third, and fourth parts were added in 1797: and the work is now republished entire, with a preface, explaining the origin of our author's discoveries in Naval Tactics. As it would be impossible for the reader, from any detached quotation, and unassisted by the plates, to comprehend the whole detail of a system which is explained with mathematical precision, in a series of demonstrations, we will endeavour to give an accurate analysis of the principles upon which it is founded, and of the chief illustrations by which it is developed and explained.

In an introduction written in October 1781, he begins with observing, that during the greater part of the American war, and during the whole of the two preceding wars, British sailors, in the rencounter of single ships, or of small squadrons, never failed to exhibit the most distinguished seamanship, intrepidity, and perseverance, attended with the most uninterrupted success: yet wherever large fleets, of ten, twenty, or thirty ships were assembled and *formed in a line of battle*, nothing memorable had ever been achieved, and not a single ship had been lost or won. The defeat of Conflans and other fortunate occurrences during the same war, form no exception to this general observation; as, on most of these occasions, the English possessed a decisive superiority in numbers; and in the defeat of Conflans, the French, though nearly of equal force, betrayed the utmost irresolution, and fairly ran away, without even attempting to sustain an engagement. From the amazing exertions and uniform success of our seamen in lesser conflicts, it cannot be ascribed to any diminution, but to the improper direction of their characteristical intrepidity, that, during the whole of that war, our fleets 'were invariably baffled, nay, were worsted, without having ever lost a single ship, or almost a man.' As little can it be attributed to the superior construction or sailing of the enemy's vessels, when we find that they were so frequently overtaken and captured in single engagements. Mr. Clerk, therefore, concludes, that the French must have adopted a new system of tactics which we had not then discovered; and that the method hitherto pursued on our part, since

since it was always unsuccessful, must have been radically wrong.

The author proceeds, in the first part of his work, to a series of demonstrations on the mode of attack from windward, of which, for the reasons already assigned, it is impossible to give any more than the general result. A single vessel to windward in pursuit of another to leeward, will never bear down, endwise, in a direct line, on the broadside of the other; because she is then exposed to be raked from end to end by the fire of the enemy, and to be disabled from pursuit. She will either bear down astern of the other, and continue the pursuit in a parallel line, till she get alongside; or, having shot ahead, she will bear down athwart the other, to intercept her in her course. But a *fleet* to windward has invariably borne down in a perpendicular, or at least in a slanting line on another to leeward, each ship in a line of battle abreast of the other, till they brought up, within a proper distance, for a close and general engagement from van to rear. A fleet to leeward, formed in a line of battle ahead of each other, and desirous to avoid a general engagement, had therefore full leisure to disable the other during its approach. And when the latter had assumed a situation for close encounter, the former might bear away at intervals, while enveloped with smoke; or, by making more sail, might shoot ahead, and pour its whole fire into the opposite van, as it passed and wore in succession, to form a new line to leeward, on the opposite tack, where, if the enemy were not already disabled, the same manœuvre might be repeated with the same success. Some idea may be formed of the effect of a raking fire, from the supposition of a column of infantry exposed to the fire of a battery through the whole line. But a ship is infinitely more disabled by the damage sustained in a few shrouds or principal stays, in a yard or topmast, than by the loss of men; and the area which the hull and rigging together present to the shot, appears from our author's calculations to be twenty times larger than the area formed by the decks alone where the men are exposed.

'If, then,' says our author in concluding this part of his demonstrations, 'after a proper examination of the late sea engagements, or rencounters, it shall be found, that our enemy, the French, have never once shown a willingness to risk the making of the attack, but invariably have made choice of, and earnestly courted a leeward position: If, invariably, when extended in line of battle, in that position they have disabled the British fleets in coming down to the attack: If, invariably, upon seeing the British fleet disabled, they have made sail, and demolished the van in passing: If, invariably, upon feeling the effect of the British fire, they have withdrawn at pleasure, either a part, or the whole of their fleet, and have formed a new line of

of battle to leeward: if the French, repeatedly, have done this upon every occasion: and, on the other hand, if it shall be found that the British, from an irresistible desire of making the attack, as constantly and uniformly have courted the windward position: if, uniformly, and repeatedly, they have had their ships so disabled and separated by making the attack, that they have not once been able to bring them to close with, to follow up, or even to detain one ship of the enemy for a moment; shall we not have reason to believe, that the French have adopted, and put in execution, same system which the British either have not discovered, or have not yet profited by the discovery (of?)' p. 39.

That such was the new system adopted by the French, to preserve their own ships, while they disabled ours, and such the mode of attack to which the English uniformly adhered, is illustrated by the details of a variety of naval engagements, from Admiral Byng's in the Mediterranean, 1756, to Admiral Greaves's rencounter off the Chesapeak, 5th September, 1781. In Byng's unfortunate engagement, the British having weathered the French fleet, edged down in a slanting or oblique line to bring the latter to close action from van to rear. The headmost ships suffered a raking fire, and received three broadsides, before they could reach their stations to return a shot. The sixth ship in the line was disabled by the loss of a topmast; and from the interruption which she occasioned to the line, the van was separated from the centre and rear. The van of the French fleet bore away at intervals, amidst the mistaken shouts of our seamen, as soon as it felt the effects of our fire. The centre and rear, by making more sail, poured their whole fire with impunity into our five headmost ships, as each vessel ranged along our van; and as they bore away in succession, they formed a new line three miles to leeward; while our van, which had sustained the whole action, was too much disabled for the fleet to renew such a disadvantageous attack. In Pocock's engagement in the East Indies, two years afterwards, a similar mode of attack, and the same system of defence were employed upon each side, and with the same success. So early had the French adopted a defensive plan, which preserved their own fleet, while it disabled ours, and which, in Byng's engagement, prevented the relief of Fort St. Philip.

Admiral Byron's engagement off Grenada, on the 6th of July 1779, is described as similar to Byng's, in almost every respect. Our fleet bore down from windward, in the same oblique line; but as the enemy kept bearing away, we were unable either to bring their rear into action, or to produce a close engagement in the van. Our headmost ships were either disabled in making the attack, as they received the whole fire of the enemy's line, as each ship of the latter passed and wore in succession, in order to form

form to leeward upon the opposite tack. The French adhered so closely to this defensive system, that, to avoid all danger of a general engagement, they forbore even to intercept our disabled ships which had necessarily fallen to leeward; and their caution was rewarded with the capture of Grenada.

Admiral Arbuthnot's engagement off the Chesapeak, exhibits a repetition of the same manœuvres, with this remarkable addition, that the French fleet, which had the weather gage, being apprehensive of an engagement in that situation, run down and formed to leeward of the British line. Accordingly, our headmost ships were so much disabled in bearing down to engage, that when the enemy wore as usual, and formed again to leeward, our fleet was unable to renew the attack. In Admiral Greaves's engagement off the Chesapeak, 5th September, 1781, the same manœuvre was practised with equal success. While the enemy's van boré away, their centre bore up in passing, not only to protect their own van, but to pour their whole fire successively into ours.

The last instance of an unsuccessful attack from windward, which our author has produced, is Lord Rodney's engagement off Martinico, on the 17th of April, 1780. His Lordship's first design was to attack the rear of the enemy with his whole force. The French Admiral, however, discovering the meaning of the signal, wore, and formed on the opposite tack; and the manœuvre, though it was still practicable, was exchanged for a general attack upon the whole line. Notwithstanding the personal gallantry of Lord Rodney, and the example of close action given by the Sandwich, the French fleet bore alternately away, and escaped; while the English, from the damage sustained in the hulk and rigging, were unable to continue the pursuit that night.

Mr. Clerk next proceeds to show, that wherever the French, in opposition to their usual practice, had kept to windward, as if aware of the peculiar danger of their situation, they were careful never to make the attack themselves. Their anxiety to preserve a secure distance, is illustrated by Rodney's two engagements on the 15th and 19th of May, 1780, to the windward of Martinico; by Sir Samuel Hood's engagement, on the 17th of April, 1781, off Martinico; and by Admiral Keppel's in 1778, off Ushant; in each of which, a smart cannonade was maintained, while the two adverse fleets passed each other upon opposite tacks. In the last of these engagements, the French fleet, as in the subsequent engagement with Arbuthnot, off the Chesapeak, run down and formed to leeward, after having passed the fire of the British line.

Such was our naval situation in the beginning of the year 1782, when

when the first part of this work appeared. During the whole war, our fleets had invariably been baffled, disabled, and worsted, in fact, in every general engagement, *without the loss of a single ship on either side, or almost of a man.* Our admirals adhered invariably to the established mode of attack, and endeavoured to obtain a windward position before they began to engage. Each ship steered directly upon her opponent in the adverse line, and brought up, in order to produce a general engagement from van to rear. In this situation, our admirals could not avail themselves of the superior skill, perseverance, and spirit of our seamen; nor in bearing down, could our ships retaliate upon the enemy with a single shot. The French, relying upon our want of penetration to discover, or of skill to counteract, this new system of defence, never failed to accomplish the object of their expedition, and to disable our ships, while they preserved their own. Dispirited by the failure of our arms in the American war, we beheld ourselves uniformly baffled in our own element; and we began to apprehend a decay of spirit in our officers and seamen, when we reflected upon the victories obtained at Messina and La Hogue, upon our obstinate battles with the Dutch in the preceding century, and on the glorious annals of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Mr. Clerk's merit would have been sufficiently conspicuous, had he merely discovered this concealed system of French tactics, which, during three successive wars, had escaped the penetration, or at least had eluded the skill of our naval commanders. But he has also taught us how to counteract this system, and to bring the enemy, in every situation, to a close engagement, in which the superiority of our seamen might be successfully exerted. Instead of the former erroneous mode of attack, the system which he has substituted, possesses this peculiar merit, that it cannot avail our enemies even when divulged. That innate spirit and habitual skill, which have rendered our seamen superior in every close encounter, must first be communicated to our enemies, before the two modes of attack which he proposes, and which have been successfully adopted from windward and from leeward, can be employed against us even upon equal terms. We will proceed to explain concisely the principles of each mode of attack, without attempting to follow the minute and accurate demonstrations which the author has given, of the various situations to which they may extend.

The mode of attack proposed, whether from windward or from leeward, is founded upon the same principle which a skilful general adopts in engagements by land; that is, to exert the chief force against the weakest or most vulnerable part of the opposite line. The impossibility of carrying the whole fleet by a general attack, has been sufficiently proved. Instead, therefore, of bearing directly

rectly down to stop the van, of which the result has been generally unsuccessful, and always indecisive, our author demonstrates that a fleet to windward, arranged in three divisions as the service may require, should continue the pursuit, like a single ship, in nearly a parallel line of approach; and should confine the attack to as many vessels as it can reach and cut off in the centre or rear. Admitting even the superiority of the enemy's sailing, the swiftest vessels to windward will necessarily outsail and intercept the heaviest in the fleet to leeward, which last must either abandon its rear, or return to hazard a general and close engagement, which it has endeavoured to avoid. But, in whatsoever manner the enemy shall attempt to return, whether the whole fleet shall double round in succession, or each vessel shall tack or wear in the line, the time and course required for the execution of the movement, will increase the distance between the van and centre, and that part of the line which is intersected and attacked. If they tack or wear in the line, the ships are exposed to a raking fire, while the windward divisions of the opposite fleet are ready to interpose, and to prevent their junction with the rear. If, anticipating the intended attack upon their rear, as in Rodney's first engagement off Martinico, they would endeavour to avoid it by wearing round, in order to pass on the opposite tack, the fleet to windward may either bear down athwart their course, and bring the headmost ships to a close action, or may renew the attack with the same success against their former van, which is now their rear. Or, if they should endeavour to escape before the wind, their retreat must soon degenerate into an absolute flight, in which the slowest vessels must always be overtaken by the fleet in pursuit.

The mode of attack from leeward occupies the second part of the work. As the course of a fleet in working to windward is in angular lines, if the advantages upon each side were equal, the distance between two fleets working to windward would continue always the same. But the least disaster to the masts or rigging, even of a single vessel, retards the progress of a fleet to windward, lest that vessel should fall to leeward into the hands of the enemy. Every alteration in the wind enables the fleet to leeward to weather the other; and, as these accidents are unavoidable in cruising, Mr. Clerk concludes, that, in the course of a few days, a fleet to leeward must fetch some part at least of the opposite line. Were they to meet on the same tack, the engagement might continue while they held the same course; but the fleet to windward, when desirous to avoid an engagement, has invariably passed the other on an opposite tack. Our fleet, instead of continuing its former course, invariably bore away, when to leeward, in order to engage, as it ranged along the opposite line; but the two fleets, as their

their courses were different, were necessarily separated after a short cannonade. As the two fleets in Keppel's engagement off Ushant, passed each other at the rate of five miles an hour, it appears that each ship was engaged for no more than a quarter of a minute with each opponent, and was exposed but for six minutes and an half to the whole fire of the adverse fleet.

'Let any one imagine,' says Mr. Clerk in his observations upon this engagement, 'a rencounter of horsemen, where the parties on coming to the ground appointed, had pushed their horses at full speed, exchanging a few pistol shot as they passed one another in opposite directions, at the distance of forty or fifty yards, and then some idea may be formed of the effect of rencounters, where adverse fleets are brought to pass each other on contrary tacks.' He concludes, that 'by such investigations only can it be explained, how two adverse fleets, amounting to thirty ships of the line each, carrying above 36,000 men, after having been brought in opposition of battle, and sustaining a furious cannonade from 4,000 guns, besides musquetry, how, I say, they have been brought to be separated again without effect, without the smallest apparent decision, that is, without the loss of a ship on either side, and sometimes without the loss of a man, although the rencounter has often been said to have been within pistol shot.' p. 108.

Our author's mode of attack from leeward, seems to have been first suggested by the examination of this unsuccessful engagement. If our fleet, instead of bearing away when it reached the enemy's line, had continued close to the wind, in its former course, the opposite line must have been *cut in twain*, and intersected by ours; and either the rear, when thus separated and obstructed in its course, must have been abandoned by the van, or a close and general engagement must have ensued. Mr. Clerk demonstrates, by a variety of examples, that whether the attack be directed against the centre or rear of the enemy's fleet, whether it be made by the van or centre of the fleet to leeward, the portion of the line which is then intersected, and cut off from the rest, must be forced to leeward and taken or destroyed. When the attack is made by the centre, the headmost ships bear away as usual, and engage to leeward; those of the centre pierce the opposite line, and stretching to windward, place the enemy between two fires; the rear remains interposed to obstruct the course of the enemy's rear, or the return of their van. When the line is thus intersected and broken, the van and rear present two distinct objects of attack; but, as these objects are not both to be accomplished, the attack of the rear, which is already far advanced, and where the success is certain, is shown to be far preferable to that of the van, which requires a long pursuit.

The trials of Matthews, Byng, Keppel, and Palliser, had been

instituted to punish the authors, if not to discover the causes, of our miscarriages by sea. During the whole of these trials, there was no idea, nor indeed the most distant surmise entertained, that the established modes of attack were in themselves injudicious, and incapable of being made effectual. Our officers were eminently distinguished by their gallantry and seamanship; but they had hitherto bestowed no adequate degree of attention upon naval tactics. The truth undoubtedly is, that the first idea of cutting the line originated with Mr. Clerk. The outlines of his mode of attack from leeward are contained in his observations upon Keppel's engagement, which were written soon after the 27th of July, 1778, and communicated to a few friends.

'The investigation,' he observes, 'of many things in this engagement, which to me seemed to be palpable blunders, and most important, roused a desire which could not be resisted, and hurried me on to put in writing a number of strictures, accompanied with drawings and plans, containing sketches of what might have been attempted in this new kind of rencounter of fleets upon contrary tacks, more particularly applicable to this attack, as it was from the leeward, which, after communicating to friends, naval officers, and others in my neighbourhood, copies were sent to London.

'In January, 1780, when I was in London, being fully impressed with the importance of the naval ideas which long had been working in my imagination, and in consequence of the strictures on Lord Keppel's engagement sent the year before, some appointments, for the purpose of farther communication on this subject, were made by my friends. Amongst the first of these, was an appointment with Mr. Richard Atkinson, the particular friend of Sir George Rodney, who was then in London, and was immediately to set out to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies. At this meeting the whole of my acquisitions on the subject of Naval Tactics, for many years back, was discussed. I communicated to Mr. Atkinson the theories of attack from both the windward and the leeward; the first as contained in the first part of this Essay; the last as contained in the second part, now published a second time. I particularly explained my doctrine of cutting the enemy's line, &c. as set forth in both first and second parts. I also produced the paper of strictures on Lord Keppel's rencounter of the 27th of July, which contained all my general ideas on the subject of Naval Tactics. All this Mr. Atkinson undertook to communicate to Sir George Rodney, which he could have no difficulty in doing, as I left in his custody sketches, made according to my usual method of demonstration, together with the necessary explanations.

'From the best authority, I have been informed that Lord Rodney himself at all times acknowledged the communication; and having, from the first, approved of my system, declared, even before he left London, that he would strictly adhere to it in fighting the enemy.'—Pref. p. vii.

In a subsequent note Mr. Clerk informs us,

'That

'That the author being in London in January, 1780, many discussions were held, at the desire, and in presence of the same friends, as well for improving upon, as for the communicating of, these and other ideas on Naval Tactics, and particularly on one occasion, by appointment with an officer of most distinguished merit: That they were afterwards intended to be inserted in the first edition of this Essay, printed January 1, 1782, as being applicable to the two similar rencounters of Lord Rodney, of the 15th and 19th of May, 1780, as well as to this of the 27th of July, where the adverse fleets had passed each other on contrary tacks. But it was afterwards thought proper then to omit them, as it was conceived it might be of prejudice to the other parts of the subject to advance any thing doubtful, no example of cutting an enemy's line, in an attack from the leeward, before that time, having been given.' p. 103.

We have long understood that this officer of distinguished merit was the late Sir Charles Douglas, first Captain to Lord Rodney, to whom there can be no doubt that our author's system and plans of attack had been communicated by the intervention of mutual friends, previous to his departure for the West Indies. In the engagement off Martinico, April 17th, 1780, it was evidently his first intention to execute our author's mode of attack from windward, against the rear of the enemy; but when that was exchanged for an attack upon the whole line, his fleet was baffled as usual, and disabled from pursuit.

'In his official despatches describing the battle, there is the following remarkable passage: "At forty-five minutes after six in the morning, I gave notice, by public signal, that my intention was to attack the enemy's rear with my whole force."

'This was a language altogether new, either from Admiral Rodney, or any of his predecessors; and as it was the first instance in which a British admiral had ventured to deviate from the old practice, I could not help immediately ascribing it to the communications I had made to Mr. Atkinson, as mentioned before. Elated as I was by the above passage, I was disappointed by another in the same letter. "At fifty minutes after eleven, A. M. I made a signal for every ship to bear down, and steer for her opposite in the enemy's line, agreeable to the 21st Article of the Additional Fighting Instructions."' Pref. p. ix.

In the subsequent engagements of the 15th and 19th of May, his Lordship still hesitated to execute a new mode of attack; and, during a short and distant cannonade upon opposite tacks, he passed to leeward of the French fleet, which had weathered his van. Upon the 12th of April, 1782, the British fleet was still to leeward, and the two fleets were on opposite tacks. The van bore away along the opposite line; and had it been followed by the centre, nothing memorable would have been achieved that day. But the Formidable, the Admiral's ship in the centre, kept close

to

to the wind. On perceiving an opening near the centre of the enemy, Rodney broke through at the head of the rear division, and gave the first example of cutting the line. All the consequences predicted by our author immediately ensued. The rear of the French fleet was driven to leeward in the utmost confusion, and torn to pieces by a raking fire. The van and centre, instead of attempting to rejoin their rear, fled in different directions, under a press of sail. The most unbounded praise is undoubtedly due to the gallant Rodney; nor can it detract in the least from his merit, that he was unable to avail himself to the utmost of a mode of attack never practised before. His van, unprepared perhaps to improve the attack, continued to stretch and to tack to windward, leaving an opening through which the rear of the enemy was permitted to escape. Abandoning the proper object of attack, namely, the enemy's rear, the proximity of which would have rendered its destruction unavoidable, he directed the pursuit of his whole fleet against the distant van; and after a chace of five leagues, which continued till sunset, five ships of the line were captured, but the rest were preserved by the approach of night.

From this first execution of our author's system, a new era has been fixed in the history of our naval transactions. During three successive wars, no decisive engagement had almost ever happened, till Rodney, in the execution of our author's system, gave the first example of cutting the enemy's line. Since that period, no engagement has ever proved indecisive; and, with the exception of the battle of the Nile, where the French fleet was at anchor, the same manœuvre has been uniformly practised with the same success. Three days before Lord Howe's distinguished victory on the 1st of June, 1794, the signal was twice given (the first, we believe, that was ever given) for the British fleet to leeward to tack in succession, to cut and pass through the opposite line; but from the misconduct of the Cæsar, in neglecting to keep to the wind, the Admiral's ship in the centre, with her two seconds only, cut the line, while the rest of the fleet passed to leeward, having tacked before they were sufficiently advanced. On the 1st of June, the Queen Charlotte, Lord Howe's ship, cut the French fleet in the centre, between the Admiral's ship and her second; and when the two fleets were thus intermixed together, the superiority of our British seamen decided the event of that important day. So sensible were the French of the cause of our victory, that, if we recollect right, the Convention, upon the report of Jean Bon St. André, passed a decree of death against that captain who should suffer the line to be cut.

In Lord St. Vincent's engagement on the 14th of February 1797, to

to which the perpendicular attack, or attack at right angles, (p. 194.) seems to allude, the Spanish fleet, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line, was discovered at day-break, extending from windward. By carrying a press of sail, his Lordship, with fifteen ships of the line, 'disregarding the regular system,' intersected and cut off the division to windward, of which four were taken, before the remainder of the fleet to leeward could return to their relief.

In Lord Duncan's victory off Camperdown, his Lordship, on discovering the Dutch fleet to leeward, bore down, not in a line of battle abreast, but in two divisions or perpendicular lines; and his attack was directed, not, as formerly, against the enemy's van, but according to Mr. Clerk's system, against the centre and rear. His own division cut the line between the eighth and ninth ships. Onslow's division passed between the fourteenth and fifteenth ships from the van; and while the former, or perhaps the Venerable and her two seconds kept the van at bay, the rest engaged with the centre and rear. By departing from the customary line of battle, and confining the attack, or the chief force, to a portion of the enemy's line, six ships of the van escaped; but the centre and rear, with the exception of a single ship, were overpowered and taken.

As the nature of the work has enabled us to present our readers with few extracts, we shall abstain from any minute observations on the language, which, in general, is plain and perspicuous, and such as is suited to scientific demonstration. The book, however, appears to us to be very awkwardly and unskilfully arranged; and we cannot help regretting, that a system, the whole elements of which are conceived and demonstrated with such admirable simplicity and precision, should have its larger compartments flung together in the careless and irregular manner in which they appear in this volume.

The preface, in which the author dwells with pleasure upon the pursuits and studies of his earlier years, is written, perhaps, with the privilege of a narrative meritorious old age. But it explains a circumstance which has excited the surprise of every reader, namely, how Mr. Clerk, a gentleman not bred to the sea, and who never performed even a single voyage, was conducted to discoveries in naval tactics which had escaped the observation of professional men, and to which the nation is so deeply indebted for its naval victories. Upon this last subject, so gratifying and so important to the individual, the author speaks with such a modest, yet conscious sense of his own merit, that we shall transcribe the concluding part of the preface for the satisfaction of the reader.

'Our

'Our affairs at sea soon after, (spring 1782) took a different turn; and I have since had the great satisfaction to see, by the adoption of my system, a decided and permanent superiority given to our fleets. I shall say nothing, in this place, of the brilliant enterprise of Lord Hood for the relief of St. Christophers, the account of which arrived about this time. The public joy on this glorious occasion had not subsided, when intelligence came of the memorable and glorious victory gained by Lord Rodney, upon the 12th April, 1782; a victory far more decisive and important than any which had been gained by our fleets during the last century. The general exultation was excessive; and I flattered myself I could distinctly perceive, even from the first accounts of the engagement, that the victory was owing to the adoption of my system; and especially to the manœuvre of cutting the enemy's line in attacking from the leeward.

'Sir George Rodney himself, when he arrived in Britain, made no scruple to acknowledge, that I had suggested the manœuvres by which he had gained the victory of the 12th of April, 1782. I may here also be permitted to observe, that although Sir George should be supposed to have had the merit of adopting the manœuvre by which he gained the victory of the 12th April, 1782, without any previous suggestion or knowledge of my ideas upon the subject, still it is impossible to deny the efficacy of the method; and the system on which it proceeded might have remained unknown and unexplained; and perhaps it would not have been followed in other instances, had not my Essay attracted the notice of the Navy; for the manœuvre was so new and uncommon, and so little agreeable to the former practice, that its adoption by Sir George Rodney, as well as its consequences in that instance, must naturally have been ascribed to accident or good fortune, more especially as Sir George had not, on former occasions, departed from the old rules; and, in his despatches giving an account of this victory, made no allusion to the manœuvre as a new one, from which he had antecedently expected such effects; for which reason, though I will not presume to estimate the merit, or put a value on the invention, as of signal use to my country, I will not disguise the satisfaction, and even the consolation I have, in thinking (in which I have been joined by many) that I have been the means of introducing a system of Tactics, which has given to the British Fleets that evident superiority over their enemies, to which the gallantry and skill of the officers and men, and the construction and force of the ships, always entitled them.' Pref. p. xiii. xiv. xv.

In contemplating the beautiful simplicity and unquestioned efficacy of Mr. Clerk's system, it is peculiarly pleasing to reflect, that it is constructed upon principles not less congenial than honourable to the character of the nation for whose use it was intended. This system does not consist in any trick or manœuvre, by which courage may be rendered unnecessary, or gallantry decoyed to its destruction; on the contrary, it proceeds upon the proud presumption, that we shall certainly beat our enemies if we can only get near enough to grapple with them: and its sole object is to give the valiant

valiant an opportunity of fair fighting, to counteract the shifting policy of a wily adversary, and to ensure a fair field for the display of courage, discipline, and perseverance, in strenuous and decisive contest.

We cannot dismiss this article altogether from our consideration, without suggesting it as a sort of national reproach, that the author of this most magnificent invention—this great engine of national security and glory—should be left without any other reward than that satisfaction and consolation of which he speaks with so modest a triumph in the passage just quoted from his preface. Those feelings, we do not doubt, are enough for him; but they are not enough for the country which has benefited by his exertions. The nation at large is indebted to his genius, and should be proud and forward to acknowledge and to discharge the obligation. His situation in life, we understand, renders him independent of patronage, and his character leads him to disdain any honour that is not offered to his acceptance. It is a public duty, however, to anticipate the claims of public merit, and to confer the highest distinction upon those who have been its most extensive benefactors. It is this spirit of enlightened munificence that is in truth 'the cheap defence of nations,' and ensures the regular production and firm allegiance of all the talents and the virtues by which a people becomes prosperous and renowned. When peerages and pensions are voted with a prudent liberality to every admiral who leads British seamen into battle, is it not humiliating to consider, that the great inventor of Naval Tactics has received no tribute of national approbation or applause? While the humblest of his disciples, the most mechanical interpreter of his instructions, is elevated to the highest pinnacle of popularity and fortune, is it not unaccountable that their acknowledged preceptor should be permitted to fall into neglect and oblivion, and to grow old without being visited by one ray of public acknowledgment or distinction?

ART. V. *The Spirit of Discovery, or, The Conquest of Ocean. A Poem in Five Books: with Notes, Historical and Illustrative.* By the Reverend William Lisle Bowles. 8vo. pp. 254. Bath, Crutwell. London, Cadell and Davies. 1804.

SOME years ago, Mr. Bowles presented the public with a collection of sonnets and short poems. The reception it met with was not unfavourable, especially from that tribe of gentle readers to whom every running stream recalls the memory of joys that are past, and every rustling leaf gives sad anticipation of coming

coming sorrow. Success, partial as it was, inflamed his ambition. No longer satisfied with the humble praise of a sonneteer, he now aspires, 'in a louder and loftier strain,' to join the Miltons and Cowpers of his county. But when he indulged the 'hope that one day he might wake the strings to higher utterance,' we cannot help thinking, that he either overrated his own talents, or was not fully aware of the difference between the prettiness and point which may serve to recommend a half-hour's effusion, and the continued display of genius and skill, which is necessary to fix the attention on a long poem. A man may flourish elegantly enough with a fencing foil, who cannot wield the club of Hercules. His former volumes had placed our author in a station neither preeminent nor contemptible; and when he quitted it in search of more extended fame, we suspect it was more from the impulse of self-conceit than of genius. He might still have engaged in a pleasure excursion, or a coasting voyage, with safety; but it was too bold a project to venture, with his frail bark, and small spread of canvas,

E conspectu Siculæ telluris in altum.

There is, we conceive, a radical defect in the choice of the subject. It is not enough, in a poem of such length as the present, to have some fine lines, and fine reflections, and pretty passages upon this and the other topic, unless there be at the same time a '*res lecta potenter*,' something to take hold of the feelings, and lead us on from book to book, without languor or impatience. The progress of maritime discovery from the earliest ages to the present times, is a theme that may be well adapted for the pen of the historian, but is lamentably unfit for a poet. The interest which the latter excites is derived, not from rapid and comprehensive sketches, but from minute and circumstantial details, which identify us with the scenes he describes, and make us so well acquainted with his characters, that every change of their fortune affects us with the vivacity of real events. Now, we leave our readers to judge, whether such a thing be practicable where the actors are of every nation, kindred, tongue, and people; and seldom the same for a hundred lines together; and where the time of action extends from the deluge to the present day. It is no answer to this objection to say, that this poem aspires not to the title of Epic; for, let the author class it as he will, he cannot deny that it is employed in narrating a series of events; and if these events be too numerous, too insulated, and too distant from each other in time and place, to coalesce into one whole that may interest and delight, he has evidently failed in a very essential requisite of all good poetry.

But

But he has not only erred in the choice of his subject; his management of it is also exceptionable. If he was determined to write poetry on this unpoetic theme, it was essential, we conceive, to any degree of success, that he should seize on a few leading facts in the history of naval discovery, and, by a proper infusion of poetical fiction, make up a connected and interesting whole. The title of the poem, indeed, seemed to intimate what the fiction was to be. The Spirit of Discovery would be exalted into a poetical personage; and, adorned with all the insignia which a fertile imagination could furnish, would be the prime agent in conducting the plot. But after reading three books without the slightest allusion to any such being, we concluded that the author employed the word Spirit in the common prosaic sense of an *active principle*. Towards the close of the 4th book, however, Discovery is at last addressed as a person, and told to 'pause,' and 'uplift her gaze,' and 'mark the rich shores of Madagascar.' In the next page, also, we have this expression: 'Look westward, Spirit, now'—and there is a foot-note to say that, by Spirit, is here meant the Spirit of Discovery, which, as it happens, is a very necessary piece of information. Twice within the next 80 lines, the Spirit is again apostrophized, and then dismissed for ever.

It was frittering away the interest of his poem, to touch, as he has done, on a multitude of facts, some of them obscure and unimportant, and others not even remotely connected with the Conquest of Ocean. Thus, at the opening of the 2d book, we are introduced to the sons of Cush, and before we have got any footing on this antiquarian ground, are hurried away to Ammon, whose acquaintance we drop as suddenly, and with as little reluctance. In another place the author detains us a considerable time in describing the fall of Babylon, the history of the handwriting on the wall, the call of Cyrus, and other topics which have no relation whatever to his subject. We do not wish to draw too tight the bonds of poetical connexion. The poet, we allow, has a right to be indulged in all decent use of episode, digression, and collateral illustration; but, in a poem of such length, we naturally look for something more than a mass of disjointed passages strung together on a common title.

With all his prepossession in favour of his subject, Mr. Bowles was not wholly blind to its defects. He confesses that, after he had chosen it, he was greatly at a loss for 'some connecting principle, that might give it a degree of unity and coherence;' and, oppressed with this difficulty, he had even gone so far as to relinquish his design of writing the poem altogether, when Mr. Clarke's History of Navigation was put into his hands. The

reader,

reader, who has looked into the account we gave of that work in our 6th Number, and still more, the reader who has examined the work itself, will wonder what jewel our author could find in that ponderous mass of rubbish, to induce him to alter so prudent a resolution. Nor will his wonder cease, when he hears, that the luminous thought which was to 'furnish an unity of design,' and 'give a more serious cast and character to the whole,'* is simply and literally this, that Noah's Ark is the foundation of our ideas of Navigation, and the true prototype of all vessels that plough the deep, from the cock-boat up to the seventy-four.

To make so unwieldly a machine as the Ark, the connecting principle of a long poem, seemed to us, we confess, at the very outset, a hopeless experiment; and it will appear, in the course of the observations that follow, whether our suspicions were well founded.

As far as the first Book goes, we certainly have enough of Noah and his Ark. The poem opens, after a few introductory lines, with the resting of the Ark on mount Ararat.

> 'All was one waste of waves that buried deep
> Earth and her multitudes: The Ark alone,
> High on the cloudy van of Ararat
> Rested: for now the death-commission'd storm
> Sinks silent, and the eye of day looks out
> Dim thro' the haze, while short successive gleams
> Flit o'er the face of Deluge as it shrinks,
> Or the transparent rain-drops, falling few,
> Distinct and larger glisten. So the Ark
> Rests upon Ararat—'

The patriarch, with his family, descends on the dry land, and, after performing his evening sacrifice, retires to rest. His sleep is disturbed by a visit from the Phantom of Destruction, who presents him with a picture of the miseries that await his race. Noah starts from his dream with horror, and walking out in the morning to shake off its effects, is accosted by the good angel, who carries him to the top of a high mountain.

> 'Then his brow
> The angel touch'd, and clear'd with whisper'd charm
> The mortal mist before his eyes:—at once
> (As in the skiey mirage, when the seer
> From lonely Kilda's western summit sees
> A wondrous scene in shadowy vision rise)
> The nether world, with seas and shores appear'd
> Submitted to his view . . . . .

He

* See Preface.

> He saw in mazy longitude devolv'd
> The mighty Brahma-Pooter; to the east
> Tibet and China, and the shining sea
> That sweeps the inlets of Japan, and winds
> Amid the Curile and Aleutian Isles.
> Pale to the north, Siberia's snowy scenes
> Are spread: Jenisca and the freezing Ob
> Appear, and many a forest's shady track,
> Far as the Baltic, and the utmost bounds
> Of Scandinavia.' &c. &c.

Every reader will at once perceive, in this passage, and in the whole intercourse of the Angel and Noah, an unpardonably close imitation of Milton's vision of the Mount, in the 11th Book of Paradise Lost. What purpose the author could have in view, in composing this part of his poem, it is not easy to determine. The similarity of the parallel passages in the two poems is so strong, that the reader is irresistibly led to estimate the comparative merit of each, and to adjust the claims of the respective authors. Did Mr. Lisle Bowles hope to excel Milton?

Had we read this first book without knowing the title or scope of the work, we should have taken it for the beginning of an epic poem, of which Noah was to be the hero. Unconnected as it is with the rest of the poem, it can be regarded only as an unnatural excrescence.—*Purpureus, latè qui splendeat, assuitur pannus.* Its very style and character are different. The boldness of the fiction, the extravagance of the machinery, and the grasping pomposity of the diction, easily distinguish it from the remaining books, which seldom leave the beaten track of historical truth. Of Noah and the ark we hear no more, except by one or two passing allusions, which have not the slightest relation either to what goes before, or to what follows after. Thus at the end of the 3d book, he introduces an old Brahmin, who, in an ode that has all the incoherence of the lyric style, without any of its sublimity, raves a little about some Hindoo tradition concerning the flood. This our author triumphantly points out as forming the *middle* of his poem. Again, towards the close of the 5th book, he alludes to

> ——'that mysterious shrine
> That rested on the top of Ararat.'

This is the *end:* and 'thus,' says he, 'the poem has gained a middle and an end.'

It would be a task equally unpleasant to us, and unprofitable to our readers, to follow the author in detail through all the books successively. It is a curious fact that, except the first, they consist of little more than an outline or versified abridgment of his favourite work, Clarke's History of Navigation; and he who knows

knows the character of that production, will be disposed to ask, Can a man gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Mr. Bowles, however, has most amply repaid himself for the mottos which his friend borrowed of him to adorn his vignettes. Not only the series of events is taken from the history, but the very episodes introduced to relieve the languor of the poem, are derived from the same source. The story of two unfortunate lovers, Robert à Machin and Anna D'Arfet, the longest and most laboured of his episodes, is a proof of this. It will be found in Clarke, related in all its details. Our author, indeed, carries his candour so far as to give us the prose account at full length in the notes; but, afraid of seeming to owe too much to his friend, he quotes as if he had taken it directly from Acalforado, of whom it is more than probable he never read a word in his life. The story is but a silly one, and is even less interesting in the poetical version than in the prose account. Who can sympathize with a giddy girl who leaves her aged father in solitude and misery, to embark with her lover on a voyage of discovery; who, in search of

> ——'scenes of delight,
> Where love may lay his head upon the lap
> Of innocence,—
>
> ——thinks it most sweet
> To wander o'er the world with him she lov'd?'

We extract the following specimen of the narrative.

> 'He pointed to the distant bark;
> And while he kiss'd a stealing tear that fell
> On her pale cheek, as trusting she reclin'd
> Her head upon his breast, with ardour cried,
> "*Be mine, be only mine:* the hour invites,
> Be mine, be only mine." *So* won, she cast
> A look of last affection on the towers
> Where she had pass'd her infant days, that now
> Shone to the setting sun—"*I follow thee,*"
> Her faint voice said: and lo! where in the air
> A sail hangs tremulous, and soon her steps
> Ascend the vessel's side: the vessel glides
> Down the smooth current, as the twilight fades,
> Till soon the woods of Severn, and the spot
> Where D'Arfet's solitary turrets rose
> Is lost—a tear starts to her eye—she thinks
> Of him whose grey head to the earth shall bend
> When he speaks nothing—but be all, like death,
> Forgotten.'

If this adventurous Miss perish in the expedition, it is no more than a just punishment for neglecting her filial duty in such a wild-goose chase after happiness. Yet the epitaph which her lover inscribed

inscribed on her tomb in the solitude of Madeira, has something pleasing and tender, especially in the first three stanzas.

'O'er my poor Anna's lowly grave
No dirge shall sound, no knell shall ring;
But Angels, as the high pines wave,
Their half-heard "miserere" sing!
No flowers of transient bloom at eve
The maidens on the turf shall strew,
Nor sigh, as the sad spot they leave,
"Sweets to the sweet! a long adieu."
But in this wilderness profound,
O'er her the dove shall build her nest,
And Ocean swell with softer sound,
A requiem to her dreams of rest,' &c.

The author is here in his element; but he has not breath for running the course of the Ode and Epode. His 'Epode on the Siege of Acre,' at the end of the 2d book, is a toiling effort at an elevation which he never can reach. We have all the external characters of the Pindaric,—interrogations, admirations, dashes, abrupt transitions,—now a very short line, now an alexandrine. But the pith and soul—the *mens divinior*—is wanting. After touching upon the victory at Acre, he exclaims,

'What triumphs yet remain?
Was it a groan?—A hero* fell—
On Egypt's plain
More loud the shouts of battle swell!
Host meets host with direr crash,
Another† pours the red vindictive flash
Of battle: Mourn, proud Gallia, mourn
Thy distant sons scatter'd or slain,
Whilst from their gory grasp is torn
The ensign hail'd "Invincible" in vain!'

The defects we have pointed out in the choice and management of the subject of this poem, must, we fear, for ever exclude it from any great share of public favour. We do not, however, mean to assert that it is without its beauties. The author has most imprudently raised his reader's expectations very high by his introductory lines; but if he be not dazzled by this *fulgor* of the commencement, he will occasionally be pleased with particular passages. These are almost all either of that sentimental or descriptive kind, for which the author had already distinguished himself. As an example of the former sort, we extract the following passage from the beginning of the 3d Book.

'My heart has sigh'd in secret, when I thought
That the dark tide of time might one day close,
England,

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* Sir R. Abercromby. † Lord Hutchinson.

England, o'er thee, as long since it has clos'd
On Egypt and on Tyre: that ages hence
From the Pacific's billowy loneliness,
Whose tract thy daring search reveal'd, some isle
Might rise, in green-hair'd beauty eminent,
And like a goddess, glittering from the deep,
Hereafter sway the sceptre of domain
From pole to pole; and such as now thou art,
Perhaps New Holland be. For who shall say
What the Omnipotent Eternal One,
That made the world, hath purpos'd? Thoughts like these,
Tho' visionary, rise; and sometimes move
A moment's sadness, when I think of thee,
My country, of thy greatness and thy name
Among the nations; and thy character
(Though some few spots be on thy flowing robe)
Of loveliest beauty: I have never pass'd
Thro' thy green hamlets on a summer's morn,
Or heard thy sweet bells ring, or seen the youths
And smiling maidens of the villagery
Gay in their Sunday tire, but I have said
With passing tenderness—"Live, happy land,
Where the poor peasant feels, his shed tho' small,
An independence and a pride, that fill
His honest heart with joy—joy such as those
Who crowd the mart of men may never feel."

The following picture of the island of Madeira, at its first discovery, will serve as a specimen of his powers of description.

——'Seen thro' the parting haze
Romantic rocks, like the depictur'd clouds
Shine out; beneath, a blooming wilderness
Of varied wood is spread, that scents the air
Where fruits of "golden rind" thick interpos'd
And pendent, thro' the mantling umbrage gleam
Inviting: Cypress here, and stateliest pine
Spire o'er the nether shade, as emulous
Of sole distinction, where all nature smiles.
Some trees, in sunny glades alone, their heads
And graceful stem uplifting, mark below
The turf with shadow, whilst in rich festoons
The flow'ry lianes braid their boughs: Meantime
Choirs of innumerous birds of liveliest song
And radiant plumage, flitting thro' the shades
With nimble glance are seen: they, unalarm'd,
Now near in airy circles sing, then speed
Their random flight back to their sheltering bowers,
Whose silence, broken only by their song
From the foundation of this busy world,

Perhaps

Perhaps had never echoed to the voice,
Or heard the steps of man.'

In the structure of his verse, he is a studied imitator of Milton; but it is always a faint copy, that puts us in mind of a grand original. He labours to vary the pauses and cadence of his blank verse with something of Miltonic richness. The same imitative propensity is observable, both in the frequency of his mythological allusions, and in the length of his periods, which are often extended to eight or ten lines, without interruption of the sense. A remarkable example of this, too long for insertion, occurs in p. 115. The following will convey an idea of what we mean.

——'A kiss
Stole on the list'ning silence; never yet
Here heard: They trembled even as if the Power
That made the world, that planted the first pair
In Paradise, amid the garden, walk'd,—
This since the fairest garden that the world
Has witness'd, by the fabling sons of Greece
Hesperian nam'd, who feign'd the watchful guard
Of the scal'd dragon and the golden fruit.'

The reader will not fail to remark the poet's accuracy in fixing the date when the woods of Madeira first re-echoed to the sound of a human kiss.

There is nothing in the smaller pieces which conclude the volume, that requires particular notice.

We have given our opinion freely concerning the merits of this poem; and we are not conscious of having said any thing inconsistent with that 'spirit of fair criticism,' or that 'language of a gentleman,' to which the author, in his preface, is so obliging as to say 'he has no objection.' For our own parts, indeed, the known gentleness of our nature would induce us, upon a slighter hint than this, to make an extraordinary exertion to accommodate ourselves to the author's inclinations: but there are critics of a more ferocious temperament, who will be apt to say that they do not care, whether he has objections or not, and whom, the bristling self-conceit of this implied defiance, will move only to derision. We certainly think him a very pretty poet in his way; but are sensible that our estimate of his merit must fall very far short of that which he has settled in his own mind as the right one. This difference, however, we gladly leave to the determination of the public, which will pass its judgment both on him and on us, in any spirit and any language it thinks proper, without regard to our objections or dissent.

ART. VI. *Sopra le Pretese Ossa d'Animali Terrestri, Silicei del Mont-Perdu, negli Alti Pirenei.* Riflessioni di Alberto Fortis, &c. &c. &c.

From Memorie della Societa Italiana. Vol. X. Pt. I.

IN the *Journal de Physique* (Pluviose, An. VIII. & IX.) our readers may recollect the account given by M. Lapeyrouse, of certain animal remains said to have been found in Mont-Perdu, a part of the higher Pyrenees. That mineralogist had himself visited the spot; and he stated in a very confident manner, that he had seen bones of terrestrial animals, in a state of petrifaction, among remains of shellfish, at the height of 1781 toises (more than 12,000 English feet) above the level of the sea. These petrifactions were observed at the base of the conical summit of the mountain. No entire bones were found; all bore the appearance of having been cut through at the ends by a sharp instrument; for their fracture was perfectly smooth. They were composed of silicious matter, which had petrified the original substance more or less completely; and M. Lapeyrouse, after giving drawings of them, infers that they must have been bones cut by a prodigious force, and very sharp instruments, when the animals were alive. Such a strange narrative, it may easily be imagined, quickly excited the attention of geologists; but we know of no published account of the examinations bestowed upon it, except the one now before us. The celebrity of the author, both as a mineralogist, traveller, and a geologist, entitles his criticisms to great respect upon such a subject; and we are decidedly of opinion, that the judgment which he passes against M. Lapeyrouse, independent of the weight derived from authority, is strictly just, on the grounds of its intrinsic merits.

When our author was at Paris, he had an opportunity of examining the specimens preserved in the Museum, of the fragments found at Mont-Perdu. He compared them with the skeletons in the National Museum of Anatomy; and both he and Cuvier were clearly of opinion, that only three small pieces had the least appearance of being animal bones. But, independent of this general circumstance, there are various points, both in Lapeyrouse's narrative, and in its deficiencies, which prove that he has drawn a very false inference when he denominates them the silicious fragments of bones of land animals. Abbé Fortis remarks, that three positions should first have been proved; viz. that the fragments were originally bones at all; that, if so, they belonged to quadrupeds; and, lastly, that those quadrupeds were land animals. Instead of proving any one of these things, the Abbé is of opinion, that Lapeyrouse's narrative is inconsistent with them all. Besides, no particulars are detailed relative to the position and construction of Mont-Perdu; it

it is only described by the very vague appellation of '*a mountain of secondary formation.*' In the *first* place, after talking much of the vast number of the fragments, and the very large size of some, Lapeyrouse only gives drawings of two very small ones, which he thinks are bones of a goat. *Secondly*, all the fragments were cut,—a thing most rare in fossil bones: nor was any one entire bone of an unequivocal kind found,—as a tooth for example. If these had really belonged to animals, the teeth would certainly have remained better preserved, and more easily distinguished than any other parts. Our author deposited in Cuvier's museum a piece of shelly tufa, found at Andria, near Naples, in which an entire tooth remained. *Thirdly*, the description of Lapeyrouse is in every part extremely scanty and vague,—forming a singular contrast to the precision and positiveness of his conclusions. From the smoothness of the fracture, the instrument supposed to have cut the bones must have been extremely sharp, and the force employed in cutting them, immense;—a point still more difficult to be proved than the existence of the bones themselves. *Fourthly*, the learned author observes, that pieces of real flint, exactly resembling Lapeyrouse's supposed bones in form and size, are frequently met with, for instance, in the department of the Seine and Oise, among the beds of sand. The smooth fracture is universal in corals and madrepores: and the Abbé knows of a mass at Monte Galda, between Padua and Vicenza, containing talc, which, when struck, gives a smell of tufa. *Lastly*, he defends those who doubt the account of Lapeyrouse, from his charge of ignorance of anatomy, by referring to the first comparative anatomist of the age, M. Cuvier, who is very decidedly of Abbé Fortis's opinion.

'Upon the whole, we are disposed to conclude with him, that although fossil bones are not uncommon, as in Siberia, at Montemartre, and in different parts of Germany and Italy; yet none have ever yet been found in chains of calcareous alpine mountains of ancient formation; and that the fragments described by M. Lapeyrouse, furnish no exception to the rule.

Having made mention of the volcanic masses in the neighbourhood of Padua and Vicenza, we shall add a few notices concerning those very singular productions, which occupied a considerable share of Abbé Fortis's attention for some years before his death. They consist almost entirely of tufa; but are chiefly remarkable for containing fishes of various kinds and sizes, in a state of complete preservation. The colour of these remains is dark brown; but the form of the living animal, in every part, is scarcely more perfect. That the tufa which encrusts them came from a neighbouring volcano in a state of eruption, cannot be

doubted: and, that the fall of the tufa, which follows, or rather, terminates every such eruption, at once killed and incased the fishes, is equally obvious. But one appearance has been observed, which requires some farther explication. In a very perfect specimen, are found two fishes; one, of a large size, with half the smaller fish in his mouth, evidently in the act of devouring it. The small fish appears just seized by the other, and not yet bit in two, nor swallowed. How could the eruption have produced this phenomenon? That the heat of the lava boiling the water, should have killed the two fishes at once, is impossible; for some time must have elapsed in the process; and the larger fish must have let the smaller one loose. Still less could the fall of the tufa have killed the two at once: and, that they must have died at the same instant, is obvious from their position. If they had been thrown ashore, however suddenly, the smaller one must have escaped from the other's mouth. Abbé Fortis very ingeniously supposed, that while the eruption was going on, but near its end, a flash of lightning from the volcano passed through both fishes at once, and killed them instantaneously; that the shower of tufa immediately began to fall; and that the dead fishes were thus incased and preserved as we now find them.

ART. VII. *Sopra i Denti Fossili di un Elefante trovato nelle Vicinenze di Roma.* Memoria di Carlo Morrozzo. *From* Memorie della Societa Italiana. Vol. X. Part I.

THIS is a very interesting memoir, upon a subject intimately connected with that of the last article. The discovery of fossil bones, is an occurrence by no means rare; but the circumstances attending those here described, are very peculiar; and fortunately, they have been examined with a more than ordinary degree of attention.

The bones described in this tract, were found by some peasants digging in a hill near Rome, in the month of April, 1802. As soon as Count Morrozzo was informed of the circumstance, he hastened to the spot, and began to observe them minutely. He found one thigh bone of two feet four inches (Paris measure) in length; a jaw bone six or seven inches high; and several teeth, weighing above 25 lib. The size of the elephant must have been at least double that of the largest Asiatic elephants. On being exposed to the air, the bones mouldered. In 1755, another skeleton of the same kind was found near the same spot; its length was ten feet; and on exposure to the air, it speedily calcined.

The

The bones now described lay north and south, at the depth of six palms, in a stratum of calcareous earth, mixed with vegetable mould; under which was a stratum of volcanic puzzolane, mixed with leucites.

Upon the bony parts of these remains, it does not appear that any particular observations were made: but the teeth presented appearances sufficiently singular. They consisted of two different substances; one soft, white and opaque; the other, hard, yellow, semitransparent and horny, traversing the former substance, which resembled the gum or matrix, in tubulæ, or smaller sets of teeth. The same appearance was observed in the recent teeth of an African elephant. Our author examined both substances with chymical re-agents. With the mineral acids, the white matter gave a small effervescence; the yellow matter none at all. The phosphoric acid produced no effervescence, when poured on the yellow matter, and very little when poured on large masses of the white; but when mixed with the latter in its mouldered or calcined state, the effervescence was considerable. It would appear from hence, that the exposure to the air caused the bones to moulder, by enabling them to attract carbonic acid gas.

At Count Morrozzo's desire, Professor Morecchini analyzed both these substances; and his experiments are inserted at length in the present memoir. We do not conceive it necessary to follow his process minutely, and shall content ourselves with noticing the results to which it led. He found that the white and soft part, which we have called the matrix of the other, was composed of fluat and carbonat of lime, a little phosphat of lime, and animal gluten, and, he thought, also a small portion of alumine. The yellow and hard part, was found to consist chiefly of phosphat of lime, some carbonat of lime, and gluten. The proofs of fluoric acid are equivocal.

The same results nearly were obtained by Cuvier, on examining specimens of fossil teeth, and comparing them with the teeth of the African elephant. Hence it is inferred, that the opinion is erroneous which ascribes the remains found near Rome, to the elephants of Hannibal. Upon closely examining the description and the drawings, however, we find that the difference of structure is very trifling. The tubulous parts in two serieses of the African elephant's teeth, are almost exactly similar to those of the fossil teeth; and the appearance of the other series differs no more from the fossil bone, than from the former parts of the African elephant's tooth. Our author's own drawing must convince any one, on the slightest inspection, that the fossil and African teeth might easily have been different parts of the same tooth; much more, fragments of different teeth of the same species of animal.

Art.

ART. VIII. *Examen de l'Esclavage en general, et particulierement de l'Esclavage des Négres dans les Colonies Françaises de l'Amerique.* Par V. D. C. Ancien Avocat et Colon de St. Domingue. 2 tom. 8vo. pp. 600. Paris, 1802 & 3.

ON looking into this work, we were delighted to find that it contained, what we had long been extremely desirous to see, a fair, open, and avowed eulogium upon slavery, with a manful and consistent vindication of the slave trade, founded upon an explicit statement of those principles which must necessarily be adopted by its supporters, but which so few of them, among us, can be brought to acknowledge. In this view, the work is very interesting, as bringing the question to a fair issue, and affording a full and steady view of those doctrines, of which we have only been able to obtain an imperfect and hasty glimpse, in the reasonings of those who have in this country defended the system of colonial slavery. We have occasion to know, also, that the principles maintained in this work, are precisely those upon which the French West Indian colonies are proposed to be administered, and that these volumes have been subscribed to by all the good colonists of that country as their confession of faith. These considerations have determined us to enter pretty fully into the speculations of M. V. D. C.; and we are the more inclined to bestow upon him an extraordinary share of attention, because the facts which he has sometimes asserted, seem to us very likely to mislead the unwary—both from the confident tone of the author, and from his undoubted opportunities of information, unless they are thoroughly sifted and exposed; and because he has collected into one point, a variety of scattered opinions, exceedingly erroneous, but very popular, upon the general subject of negro slavery. It is not our intention, however, to give a complete analysis of this work, or to refute even every part of it to which we may find it necessary to allude. The doctrines which we most of all feel disposed to reject, are of an absurdity so palpable and egregious, that we need but quote them as curiosities, in order to expose them. After this part of our task is finished, therefore, it will remain to select the most material errors in point of fact (we willingly give them that name) which the author has committed; and to produce some very material evidence, which he has unwarily furnished, against a cause less consistently, but with greater moderation, supported by others. We shall conclude, by presenting our readers with a few considerations seldom attended to in the views which men usually take of the future progress of the negro race, chiefly in the New World.

In

In the general tenor of its logic, this work resembles most of those lately permitted to see the light in France. An abhorrence of the *equality* worshipped in the earlier part of the revolution, gradually leads to the abjuration of the *liberty* which used to be coupled with it. Hence, the transition is easy, to an utter rejection of every thing approaching to a republic; for, what are all popular forms of government, but modes of democracy? Therefore, the people must only think how they shall bow and obey. We are thus brought to the necessity of absolute monarchies, from the *very nature of things*. But the only danger is, lest they should be too mild. The people must therefore be carefully deprived of every thing approaching to privilege or liberty,—all of which ought properly to centre in one hereditary monarch. Now, what is personal liberty, but a modification of civil rights, for which few are fitted, and still fewer have any need? And do not men every day sell their liberties, or hire their persons, which is the same thing? Moreover, are not some men so brutified, that personal rights would be thrown away upon them? How natural, then, is it, that some should be masters, and others slaves? And how useful, too, is this subordination, which the vulgar call slavery? Not to mention other things, it is the source of good government, peace, sugar and coffee, national prosperity, ships and fine colonies. Hence we are easily led to the conclusion, that every thing is quite as it ought to be, both in the mother country, and the lesser colonies of France; that the weeds of privilege and personal liberty are wisely eradicated from both parts of the empire; and that the complete regeneration of that happy system only requires a continued submission to the Emperor in the Old world, and an increased importation of African beasts of burden (commonly called men and women by other writers) in the New. It forms an occasional variety in this scheme, sometimes to contrast the excellence of the Catholic religion with the horrors of revolutionary impiety; and at other times, to deny the authority of the Bible, and laugh at the precepts of all religions, when they interfere with the interest of the planters. Whether we have overcharged this sketch of the general principles of reasoning adopted by our author, and taken by him from the present fashion of Parisian writers, let the following particulars show; in which, it may be observed, that he can frequently boast an entire originality, even among the productions of his own countrymen.

We pass over his long invectives against equality and civil liberty—his appropriate praises of the new government—his bitter abuse of the freedom enjoyed in Great Britain (which consists it seems of privileges partly hurtful and partly nonsensical)—his arguments

guments to prove (what not long ago would have passed for a contradiction in terms all over France) that democracy is, of all governments, the most absurd. These discussions occupy much of these volumes. We shall only notice two particulars as specimens of the rest. He commits the slight mistake of supposing *juries* to be annually elected; and inveighs against so horrid an institution with due energy. (II. 115.) He maintains that English liberty is absolutely limited to these two privileges—robbing on the highway, and throwing stones at the king. (II. 59.)

It is of more importance to cast an eye upon his objections to personal liberty, and his continual praises of domestic slavery, under whatever form it may appear; for, by these, he ultimately supports his main positions upon the negro system. According to him, different men are born with different faculties, and are thereby destined by nature for different stations in society. Now, one station is that of slavery; therefore, certain men are born to be slaves:—nor ought they to repine at this lot; Terence, Phædrus, Æsop, and many other great men among the ancients, were slaves. The brave Gauls and Germans used to sell their liberties, or lose them, at play; and among the lower animals, we find none who do not thrive in the comfortable state of servitude. This last topic of consolation is so curiously imagined and illustrated, that we shall insert the passage at length, as a fair specimen of the rest.

'Observe the largest, the strongest, the most ferocious, the most laborious, and most generous of animals: both birds and quadrupeds become habituated to slavery;—for example, the lion, the wolf, the bear, the fox, and even the tiger, who at least *lives* in his cage. In the East, panthers, ounces, and leopards are employed in the chase, as dogs are with us. The elephant may be tamed, and rendered a domestic animal in a week. The very fishes themselves learn to know the voice of a master, and to receive food from his hands. The gold-fish lives contentedly in his jar in our apartments. I know only of the humming bird which dies speedily in confinement: and why! because he can no longer hop from flower to flower, and sip the nectar he loves. However, a Dominican friar, I believe his name was Feuillée, at Martinique, succeeded in keeping one three months, by means of the proper attention to its diet.' (II. 282.)

In short, the aversion to slavery is a mere prejudice; wholly devoid of all reason; unfounded either in the analogy of nature, or the example of past ages; and utterly unknown even to the vulgar themselves, until the false philosophy of modern times, at which it is now become fashionable to rail in Paris, filled men's heads with a multitude of dangerous chimeras.

Now, our author observes, that the order of nature thus clearly

ly requiring a certain portion of mankind to live as slaves to the rest, it is only necessary to inquire on what portion of the species this lot should fall. The Europeans are evidently out of the question; they are the nobler animal. The Asiatics are too far off, and might probably not come, when called, to take their place; besides, they have some good qualities. The Americans are not at all improper for the station; only that their numbers are small, their strength not very great, and they live in situations exceedingly incommodious for the trader. Who then but the Africans can be the servile cast? And, of the Africans, who but the Negroes inhabiting the West Coast? Accordingly, a very large portion of this work is taken up with a detail of the bad qualities and defects of the Negroes; their necessary unfitness for every thing but slavery; and the infinite misery of their nature, until happily removed to the genial soil of the West Indies, where they both thrive admirably themselves, and are the source of every benefit to their proprietors.*

It

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* It is so rare to meet with a formal eulogy of slavery, that our readers might not think us serious in the statements we have given of the author's love for that condition (a passion which he shares with almost all the present race of French political writers,) did we not give a specimen of his praises.

'I know nothing which is so well calculated to give sensible men a just idea of slavery, as the silence of Epictetus on his own condition: Add to this, the silence of Terence and of Phædrus. How happens it, that these ancient authors, who were themselves slaves, have left us no invectives against slavery? And how comes it to pass, that our modern writers, who were slaves, declaim so violently against this condition? The ancients were acquainted with the nature of man; and the moderns only know the art of reformation.' (II. 255. Note.)

That our readers may have some idea of the fatal tendency which the present dynasty in France has to check the progress of improvement, wherever liberty or liberality of opinion, is at all concerned; and in order to demonstrate the truth of what we have observed concerning the abominable nature of the principles now propagated most sedulously by all the writers of the government, we subjoin the following anecdote. A work was lately published in Paris by a Citoyen Ferrier of the Bayonne revenue department, entitled, '*Du Gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le Commerce.*' The professed object of this very singular production, is to preach up the *whole doctrines* of the mercantile system, and to bring back men's minds from the errors in which the modern political writers, particularly Smith, have too long bewildered them. There is literally, not one single absurdity in the whole extent of the mercantile theory which this work does not warmly espouse. In the

It may at first sight appear a little extraordinary, how one, who boasts of his belief in the Mosaic account of Adam, (II. 139.) should so stoutly maintain that the negroes are beings descended of a race distinct from our own. If we rightly follow his reasoning, however, he would be understood to deny that the negro is a human being; at least this seems the meaning of the whole catalogue given of his inferiorities, by far the greater part of which are corporeal. Thus his *ugliness* is described in terms so extravagant, that one is tempted to accuse the whites of a very singular taste, as often as one thinks how many mulattoes there are in the West Indies. Their colour, and, above all, the woolly quality of their hair, is in like manner urged as evident proof of inferiority. Their perspiration is rancid; their taste obtuse; they sleep too soundly (in the country of the cart-whip, be it remembered;) they have not even the appearance of courage; they are unsusceptible of love; yet (I. 219.) they make love songs. They

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the '*Journal des Debats*,' (December 17, 1804,) by far the ablest and most universally circulated of all the French gazettes, appears an article, written upon the whole with some acuteness of expression at least, and full of eulogium upon Ferrier's book, Dr. Smith is styled, '*Ecrivain Anglois sans consideration dans son pays, mais reconnu comme une autorité dans le notre, sans qu'il soit facile d'expliquer pourquoi.*' Ferrier is asserted to have thoroughly refuted every position relative to the liberty of trade, &c. and to have succeeded completely in restoring the empire of reason and experience, '*uniformly at variance with Smith.*' It is maintained, that France has made the fatal experiment of leaving things to themselves in matters of trade, and that the result leads to a rigorous adoption of the system of compulsion and interference. The discoveries of modern political economists, are treated as some of the worst fruits of the spirit of innovation, which nearly ruined all Europe; and it is plainly asserted, that the politicians of the middle ages were wiser on these topics than ourselves. '*On était moins ignare en economie politique, dans les siecles tenebreux; il est vrai qu'alors on jugeoit de tout par l'experience, et qu'aujourd' hui on tranche surtout avec son esprit.*' These symptoms of a retrograde movement in political opinions, are not indifferent; for although at present, the change is confined to a few, who are hired by the government, or frightened by their frivolous imaginations, to betray the cause of truth, the effect of their exertions will ere long be obvious upon the bulk of mankind—those who think by proxy. Even at this moment, the picture exhibited by such endeavours to check the speculative love of freedom, is sufficiently melancholy; and the same considerations render the case still more distressing, when we add the important circumstance, that the wretched views of the policy thus reviving in France, spring up in the centre of the government itself, and influence its conduct accordingly.

They have the sense of hearing as delicate as the lower animals. Their sagacity in ordinary affairs, and expertness in exercises, are the effects of want of thought about the future, and brutal absorption in the business of the present moment. They are so musically inclined, that all their pleasure consists in the pipe and dance; nay, negroes have performed in the oratorios of St. Domingo; (I. 127.) yet they are mere grovelling animals, utterly destitute of all talents: and, as a proof of this, we are told that 25,000 livres have been offered for one, merely because he could draw an oval, and build a well; and that the whole race lived for ages on the west coast of Africa, without discovering America: (I. 105.) A vast number of other bad qualities are heaped upon them with equal liberality; and at last their close affinity to the lower animals is plainly inferred. Some of their tribes it seems can count no farther than three. Whole nations of them, instead of a human voice, utter a sound resembling a bird. Others speak in a sort of inhuman sigh from their chest. Many of them actually have tails, with red hair. 'So many marks of brutality,' says our author, 'make one believe that they are only one step removed from the state of the beasts.' And again, we are told that the lower animals confirm this opinion, by their instinctive preference of negroes to whites when they attack a village. From the negroes, the author extends his description to Africa in general; and concludes, that 'a country, where nature, expending her powers in producing monsters, has not sufficient energy to form men, and only fashions slaves under the human form disfigured, must be esteemed a land of curses,' (*terre de malediction*, I. 60.) That the propriety of using those inferior beings as slaves, or indeed in whatever way may best suit our purposes, should be maintained by the author of these opinions, cannot appear very surprising. Our readers may, however, wish to see how he states the question of the slave trade in its more detailed view; and we think it important to give his argument on this subject, as it is only a naked exposition of the fundamental reason which has always operated in practice, and reconciled men's minds to so unnatural a commerce.

First, For us to take a *few cargoes* of negroes can be nothing, when so many are taken by other nations in all parts of Africa. *Next*,

'The negroes in Africa are very fruitful. An overflowing population, which to industrious countries is a blessing, in Africa is the greatest misfortune. Before the arrival of the Europeans on the West Coast, this wretched nation was at a loss how to get rid of its supernumerary hands; and could only employ them in perpetual wars. On both sides, the massacres were nearly equal; and what the sword spared, the altar devoured.' (I. 170.)

And

And here, by the way, we may remark, that war and human sacrifices are justified, as well as the slave trade, as useful expedients to remedy the excess of population. *Thirdly*, We have the subject in a new point of view—

'At first the Europeans took a few slaves, from mere curiosity. By degrees they introduced them into the American colonies, where the congenial climate made them thrive wonderfully. It was soon found that the New World could not be cultivated, without a sufficient supply of this kind of men, who for so many ages, had remained a useless burden on the earth. Devotion was at that time the great occupation in Europe; and it was believed that Christians and sugar might easily be made at the same time. Accordingly, the different powers authorized the slave trade.' (178.)

Fourthly, The negroes in Africa, were they to hear of our abolishing the trade, would be the first to pray for a repeal of so hurtful a measure: (II. 228.) Our author, after enumerating the bad qualities and defects of the negroes, adds, 'Such are, and such always have been, the natives of stupid Africa. How unjust, then, to deprive a Frenchman or Englishman of a property in the *merchandise offered to all nations for sale!*' (II. 229.) But as for the question, whether the slave trade is upon the whole, an advantage to Africa, he conceives that is a consideration which *we* have nothing to do with. It is, says he, '*exclusivement de la competence du conseil de Guinée.*' (II. 230.)

He informs us, however, that slavery is the lot and portion of negroes, and that they have no reason to repine.

'The slavery of the negroes, whether in the colonies, or in their native country, has a foundation perfectly legitimate: it is derived from the *national*, nay, from the *natural* law of Africa. On the coasts of that continent, and in the interior, where the trader pushes his transactions, a negro at his birth is subjected at once to the dominion of his parents, and of his chief: he becomes also liable to slavery from his fellow-robbers, who may seize and sell him. *It is the law of his birth.* He breathes and grows under the chance of being a slave either in Africa, America, Tartary, or England.' (II. 233–4.)

After this, it would be needless to give any more specimens. At last we have found an advocate who pushes his doctrines to the length of perfect consistency. For the man who defends the slave trade, on the ground that all Africans receive their existence from the hand of Nature, under the condition of becoming slaves as soon as their services are required, has surely nothing to fear from those various contradictions into which the more timid supporters of the cause have been betrayed, by a foolish attempt to reconcile it with the common principles of justice. When the negro is no longer recognized as a man; when Africa is maintained to be a land of curse, and the parent only of monsters; when

when the state of slavery is in general extolled for its superior comforts and blessings; when the negro race is said to be so fruitful, that the soil cannot maintain them, unless their numbers are thinned by wars, massacres, and kidnapping; and when, at last, we are told that nature has from all eternity doomed each individual of that tribe to slavery as his portion, or birthright—we surely can have no hesitation in admitting the justice of the slave trade as a necessary consequence, and in commending the frankness of him who thus openly states, in their full extent, principles which others have been ashamed to avow, while they uniformly acted upon them. To inquire whether this slave trade is useful to those who carry it on, is a different question; and our author does not so well settle the point. He is, however, very short and confident upon it, as the following extract of his whole discussion may prove.

'Is the slave traffic consistent with the interest of France? As well might we ask, Are sugar colonies advantageous to France? Is it her interest to have a marine? Without negroes, you can have no colonies: This is now a settled axiom. Without colonies, no marine;—another maxim. Instead of asking, then, whether the slave trade is necessary, ask whether colonies and ships of war are necessary.'

Such is the eighth chapter of this work, entitled, 'A Discussion of the policy of the French Slave Trade;' and occupying less than one small page.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we must give one specimen of our author's style and manner of composition; which is, in general, far from being as bad as some of the foregoing quotations might lead our readers to suppose. We select a passage, in which he describes the character of the African governments. It is intended as a striking proof of the miserable state of the negroes in their native bondage; and it will be found to afford also a surprisingly accurate picture of the present government of France. There is, however, this material difference, that the Africans have hitherto produced no eulogists of their tyrants and general declaimers in praise of slavery.

'The chiefs are raised to the supreme rank, either by striking exploits, or by usurpation, or by craft. They are enabled to maintain their power, by the habits of abject submission which prevail among the people, or by means of the terror which they inspire, if they can manage to surround themselves with satellites, hired to execute their commands. There is no fixed order of succession in the government. A certain process of reasoning is required to the formation of every hereditary dynasty, even of the simplest of all, a monarchy. Of this the negro head is incapable. With that fickle people, every thing is momentary; steadiness is unknown. In a single day, they make and unmake both their kings and their gods; and have as little reason in the one operation as in the other. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that a chief

chief will keep his station for life; and there are even instances of his being able to transmit his power to a successor; but these are matters of *fact* merely, in which *right* has nothing to do.

'The power of those tyrants has no bounds; and they have not the sense to be moderate in the exercise of it. They sport with the goods, the lives, and the liberties of their subjects. Yet before they will give themselves up to the utmost excesses of tyranny, they take great care to conciliate the good graces of the priests, whose influence might be fatal with a people uncommonly prone to superstition. No pains must be neglected to secure this order of men; and it is indeed far from being a very difficult matter. You have only to give them abundance of women, fish, fruits, &c. and to exempt them from the necessity of active exertion. When they are thus gained over, the tyrant's despotism scorns all bounds. He disposes, without restraint, of men, women and children—using or abusing them—butchering or selling them, according to the caprice of the hour.' (I. 171.)

It is for such reasons as these that the Africans are denied to be human beings. But, with the exception of one particular—the selling of men, what part of this description does not apply to the happy and enlightened empire of France?

It is evident, that the facts against the slave system, which are to be found in the writings of so prejudiced an advocate as the author of this book, are extremely valuable, and carry a weight to which they would not be entitled in any ordinary statement; and, happily, all his zeal has not been sufficient to guard against the admission of some most important documents of this nature. We shall select a few of those which are the least known, or the strongest in their consequences.

We have already noticed some of his admissions, respecting the particular faculties of the negroes. Various notices of the same sort are to be found in different parts of these volumes. Thus, he admits 'that the tobacco produced in some mountainous district of St. Domingo, was wholly the property of the negroes, who raised it for their own use:' (I. 210.) The following passages deserve attention in the work of one who is disposed to deny the negro all capacity of voluntary labour, and of providence for their wants.

'After the field-work of the day is over, the negroes have still time left for making the round of their own gardens, and gathering the vegetables and other provisions which they want. The first thing they do, on returning to their huts, is to visit their little properties, their live-stock of pigs and poultry:' (I. 215.)—'They prepare for the great feast of the New-year for a long time before. The musical instruments are repaired; the drum is strung anew; every thing is got ready. The orator of the plantation is the only one embarrassed on the occasion: he has to compose a compliment to the master, and all the gentry of the family.'—'The substance of his discourse is a number of wishes

wishes for the prosperity of the master; that his life may last till his hair have become as white as the *pitra*, (a very white cloth) and till it may be necessary to carry him to the sun to acquire new warmth; that he may become so rich as to need pits in the earth for holding his treasures; and so forth.' (I. 218–19.)—'Their songs and tales run generally on love; either in a lamentation, a hymn, or a satire; and they all join in the choruses with the leader.' (I. 217)—'An industrious negro reaps a thousand advantages from his garden. Bananas, potatoes, maize, water melons, peas, pine-apples, pistaccio-nuts, furnish him a plentiful subsistence, and food for his pigs and poultry. He has even an overplus, which he sells at market, and thus acquires a little property to be laid out in fine clothes for the holidays.' (I. 194.)

But the following statement is a still more complete avowal, that there is in the negro no natural deficiency; but that his apparent inferiority is owing entirely to circumstances which the slave trade first produced, and still supports.

'In their own country, the negroes are surrounded by every kind of fear, from the moment of their birth; the fear that their parents may sell them; the fear that kidnappers may carry them off; the fear that their chiefs may sacrifice their lives. These are circumstances sufficient to impair the character and talents even of negroes.' (I. 135. note.)

And truly, those are the very causes to which the abolitionists uniformly ascribe the barbarism of Africa, and the apparent incapacity of its unhappy natives. Another fact is likewise subservient to the same argument. Nature, it seems, has placed the negroes in circumstances, which require little or no exertion of industry on their part; and our author enumerates all the facilities which they have in procuring ample support with scarcely any labour. The soil, the climate, and the waters, equally contribute to his ease and indolence. (I. 144.) How can a people, placed in such circumstances, advance in civilization, or even in habits of industry, unless they are stimulated by new desires, and excited to the attainment of difficult objects? The intercourse of Europeans has indeed taught the negroes new desires, and has excited them to new exertions; but the exertions have been those which, of all others, are the most adverse to improvement,—the operations subservient to the slave trade. Of this process our author himself has unwittingly furnished several striking illustrations,

'The negroes,' says he, 'are too indolent to travel far from home; they never make excursions but for the purpose of stealing and selling each other. There are always some of these marauders lying in ambush near the villages, to surprise such of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, as happen to leave their houses without sufficient circumspection. I have myself had a number of negroes of both sexes, who were thus carried off from their country.' (I. p. 174.) Again, 'It was, till very lately, customary for the slave captains, of all nations, to

to play the farce of a marriage with the daughters of the native princes, in order to procure a more favourable supply of negroes,' (II. 185.)

In the following curious exclamation, we recognize similar admissions regarding the mode of procuring slaves.

'What is meant by the *tears of Africa?* Without sentiments, there can be no tears; those who have no souls cannot weep. When an African has sold his infant, he sleeps, and thinks no more about it. Who then should weep for the trade? Not surely the kidnapper who sells his prey: on the contrary, he rejoices at the good bargain he has made, and only thinks how he may find an opportunity of carrying off more slaves to the market,' &c. (II. 199.)

In another passage, he gives us still farther insight into the mysteries of the slave trade, and inserts the information which he obtained from a slave captain, (Bauman) noted for his great skill and long experience in the business. It appears, that when a slave captain arrives on the coast, if he has full powers from his owners to act as he judges best, he

—'goes himself up the country, with good guides, and a number of his sailors, some of whom are well armed, and others loaded with samples of his goods. On the route, he is surrounded by negroes from all quarters, who come to bargain with him. He takes care, however, not to begin his operations before he has paid his court to the prince of the district; but he behaves with great kindness to the country merchants, and promises to open a slave traffic with them on his return. In the mean time, he distributes brandy among them; and they retire, clapping their hands in token of satisfaction.' (I. 179.)

It may be presumed, that the interval between the captain's exhibiting his tempting samples, and applying his douceurs to the *country merchants* (who on other occasions are called *monsters* or *brutes*) and his return to those parts, is actively employed in procuring the requisite supplies of the only commodity which they can expect will be taken in exchange for the goods. But we shall follow this *trader*'s progress up the country, and see how he traffics with the king, whom he first conciliates by large presents.

'It frequently happens, that the wives and children of the king are sold along with the other slaves. We have repeatedly seen those illustrious captives in our colonies.'—'Captain Bauman has assured us, that one buys from time to time, whole families of kings, queens, princes, and princesses. This happens chiefly in the revolutions of the country." (I. 184.)

The same captain communicated to our author his journal or notes upon the negroes; and we are favoured with the following extract from this curious memoir.

'Negroes brought to the factories, loaded with irons, galled with their ligatures, half killed with blows, scarcely able to walk.'—'And from

from whom, asks our author, had they received this treatment? From their parents, from their freinds, from their brothers, who brought them from the inmost recesses of the country, a distance of two hundred leagues (seven hundred English miles) to sell them at the factories on the coast.' (I. 211.—Note.)

Yet the slave trade is a blessing to those poor negroes! And the existence of factories on the coast has no sort of influence on their lot! And it is quite indifferent to them, whether they live at home, or are brought down this *jaunt of pleasure*, to see a little of European manners, and know what is called *life*! Before quitting the African part of the subject, we must extract one other passage containing matter of serious reflection to this country, and furnishing a new proof of the miserable consequences which our delay to abolish the slave traffic has produced upon the opinion entertained of our national character, as well as upon the conduct and sentiments of our companions in that crime.

'At the beginning of the French revolution, you saw the English throwing fire and flame against the slave system and the African trade. They publicly, and with great parade, discussed the question, whether the traffic should be continued or suppressed? The newspapers were filled with debates on this great point. The Quakers caballed, the Methodists stormed; there was a terrible uproar all over the three kingdoms. What did the English then do? They adjourned the question for twenty years; continued to buy slaves for the culture of their colonies, and to sell the refuse of their cargoes to the Spaniards, and such other nations as had need for it. And what do those same English do at this day? They carry on the slave trade, and talk no more of the slave system. Was not all their affected interest in the discussion, a snare laid to inveigle us?' (II. 237.)

He then goes on very absurdly to describe what he conceives must have been our motive for mooting the question, viz. a plan to excite the like fatal discussion in France, and thereby ruin her colonies. Such a ridiculous way of accounting for the conduct of England, certainly does not render the lesson, which the passage affords, in the least degree less instructive. It is enough that we see how universal the opinion of her insincerity has become with every class of reasoners.*

If we follow our author to the interesting subject of the treatment of the negroes in the West Indies, we shall meet with facts of

* The author of another work on colonial affairs, M. Pagé, gives precisely the same statement in 1801; treating the insincerity of England as a matter of fact, which admitted of no doubt, and required no argument to support it. He accounts for our pretended movements in favour of the negroes, upon the very same hypothesis. See *Traité d' Economie Politique et de Commerce des Colonies.*' (I. 102. *et seqq.*)

of equal importance, interspersed accidentally among his reasonings and declamations in favour of the slave system. Thus, though he maintains that the love of slave proprietors for their negroes exceeds all bounds; and gives various statements and anecdotes to illustrate the kindness and intimacy with which they are treated, we observe that all the facts relate to the *negrillons*, the little black children whom the whites play with as with domestic animals, while they are yet too young for any sort of work. He plainly admits the universality of the cartwhip. He describes the gang at work, with their driver constantly instigating them, almost in the language employed by the author of the 'Crisis;' he allows that this driver has the discretionary power of inflicting a certain number of lashes at a time; and he even tells us, that the crack of the whip is the signal for the periods of work and rest. He bestows unbounded praise upon the humanity of the French law, which only allowed a negro driver to inflict a certain extent of punishment, (and who, by the way, saw that law enforced?) but he contracts it with what he grants to be the practice of colonies, where no such rule is known, in the following terms.

'Their drivers are petty tyrants, who torture the negroes with impunity, according to the caprice of the moment. He may have a trifling dispute with one of the gang about a fowl, &c.—*there* is a sufficient reason for conceiving animosity. What becomes of the second negro in the field, if the driver may gratify his pique as he chooses? Shall the offence be judged of by an inquiry?—the remedy would be as bad as the evil; the authority of the driver would be despised, and he would no longer know the limits of his office. The danger is still greater as to a nigress; she may have rejected the advances of the driver,—his love will be turned to revenge,—and then, wo to the nigress who has slighted him!' (I. 236.)

All this is extremely just; but it fails in extent of application. It should be stated of the French colonies, in spite of the futile and absurd restriction of the number of lashes;—for who shall regulate that number when the master is necessarily absent, and the overseer little interested in the care of the stock? nay, who shall regulate the frequency with which the limited number is inflicted? and, admitting that all this could be regulated, who shall prevent the driver from making the fixed number more or less painful according to his caprice? The constant subjection to that caprice, is the grand evil of the system; the pain or hurt is but a secondary consideration. When you place human beings in circumstances which necessarily subject every motion of their bodies to the control of another's will, felt at each instant of their lives, you deprive them of all the sentiments which make the human

man character what it is in ordinary situations. Industry, conscience, emulation;—in short, every sentiment of the least value is out of the question; the man becomes at the very best a *machine*. We shall only farther remark on this head, that although our author denies the hardships of field work in general, and maintains the superior felicity of the West Indian life to a negro, yet when he comes to talk of the particular enjoyments which compose that blissful situation, his descriptions of this paradise of the African race, are not quite consistent with his eulogiums.—Thus, he speaks rather disrespectfully of the main article, the climate.

'The climate is terrible, and has been justly described by the quotation applied to the West Indies—'*Terra devorans habitatores suos.*' It not only devours the men who are strangers to it, but even foreign animals, grain, plants, and trees.' I 210.

Through his whole declamation on the necessary affection of the master for his slave, (or, as M. Pagé calls it, the identification of the proprietor with the property, II. 35.) it is obvious that our author commits the twofold error which is included in all such theories of negro happiness. He forgets, first, that only immediate and striking views of interest will ever bridle the bad passions of men; and, next, that even admitting the master's temper were of the cool sort, which looks always at averages, and guides its movements by calculation, still the care of the negro, that is, his treatment, is in ninety-nine out of a hundred instances, entrusted to a driver and an overseer, who have no interest whatever in the matter. The perverse obstinacy with which all defenders of the slave trade keep these particulars out of view, can scarcely be ascribed to any thing but a wilful omission of facts in their statements; and our excuse for introducing here what has so often been given before, must be found in the necessity of repeating the correction as often as the falsehood is brought forward.

We come now to offer, in the last place, a few reflections (suggested, partly by the foregoing topics, and partly by our sanguine expectations of the abolition) upon the probable fate of the negro race in the American colonies. The subject is interesting at all times, in a merely speculative view. It comprehends various questions of high importance in the philosophy of man; it touches upon the destinies of a large portion of the species; it is a discussion of the event which may be expected from the grandest and the most cruel experiment that ever was tried upon human nature —the sudden and violent transportation of an immense multitude of savages to a distant region and a new climate, and their forcible and instantaneous exposure to a state of comparative civilization.

Nor let it be thought that general views of science, and what is usually derided under the name of philanthropy, are the only motives to the inquiry. The fate of a large empire, with all its wealth and power, depends upon the result of the discussion. The colonial establishments of the European states in the New World, form a mass of dominion scarcely inferior in magnitude to the proudest dynasties of ancient or modern times; and though their ruin would not necessarily involve that of the mother countries, it would completely subvert all the established relations between the different members of the European commonwealth, besides producing a vast absolute diminution in the prosperity of the Old World. We proceed to the discussion of such a subject with the diffidence which its numerous difficulties presented; and trust that by keeping our eyes closely fixed upon the *data* which facts present, we may avoid the ridicule so often attendant upon political prophecies.

To inquire what form the colonial society will assume during the continuance of the slave trade, would be a very superfluous task. For if it shall be continued, in all human probability one of two events will speedily happen; either the fate of St. Domingo will suddenly become the fate of all the negro settlements, or the West Indian system will remain a little longer on its present footing. By means not very easily perceived, the impending blow will be warded off for a season: Negroes will continue to be driven, tortured, and wasted, in proportion as new recruits can always be obtained from Africa. A scanty portion of the dregs of European society will still reside in the islands, and compose the whole of that colonial body on whom the preservation of the system depends. Each attempt of the enemy in St. Domingo, or each effort of the slaves themselves to imitate the example of that settlement, will shake to its base the whole western wing of the European community, till, in the course of a few years, the frail tenure will give way, on which we hold those fine possessions; and all the monuments of the European name in the southern part of the New World, will vanish before the tempest which our short-sighted and wicked policy has for ages been raising. It is long since we predicted the consequences of a negro commonwealth in the Antilles, and attempted to show, by arguments, (the weakness of which has been unhappily strengthened by the course of events,) that with emancipated Africans there can be no faith, no treaties, no fixed connexions of neutrality, not even the honourable and settled relations of modern warfare. The suppression of such a monster in policy was stated as a duty incumbent on every civilized state connected with the West Indian system. Unfortunately the nation has since been plunged into hostilities,

hostilities, which rendered such a line of conduct impossible; and although we by no means despair of seeing the efforts of France and Spain successful in St. Domingo, still we feel redoubled anxiety as to the effects of a contrary event upon the colonies that remain tranquil. The negroes in St. Domingo are already acquiring something like a navy, they have proposed to Great Britain conditions of alliance, which no civilized government can listen to. Here are at least two facts, which speak loudly to warn us of the dangers necessarily inherent in such a neighbourhood. What has England to expect? or what can she do to brighten her prospects? On this point also our sentiments have been repeatedly stated. Until the slave trade is at once boldly and totally abolished (for in our present circumstances delay is not prudence; it is rashness, in fact, though it may result, like many other kinds of temerity, from real cowardice;) until the root of all the evil is hardily struck at, and the main, universal cause of all our dangers destroyed, we can neither expect an hour's quiet in the slave colonies, nor any sensible alleviation of the manifold evils which crowd into the picture of West Indian society. Whether all the mischief of negro liberty comes at once, and falls upon the system with an instantaneous shock, or only undermines it gradually, and then covers it with ruin in the end, we need scarcely take the pains to inquire: the alternative is almost equal: and, while we persist in our present conduct, the stake is hardly worth the trouble of the game. The abolition of the slave trade alone can rectify those abuses. and counteract those frightful dangers which we have so often been obliged to contemplate in treating of colonial affairs. It may now be proper to inquire, what are the steps by which the abolition is likely to lead to such a desirable consequence.

Now, the various arguments which have been formerly urged, to prove the dangers of the slave trade in its natural effects upon the *security* of the West Indian establishments, lead us to the *first* point of view, from whence it may be proper to look at this subject. Nothing can tend more obviously to prevent proprietors from residing on their plantations, than the constant, and, at present, most just fear of insurrection. When a native of England is about to leave a home, in which the value of perfect security is only overlooked because it knows no interruption, he is forced to reflect on the blessings he has hitherto enjoyed, and to consider that they are not the gift of every government. In his choice of a new place of residence, the change of climate enters perhaps far less among his comparative views, than the shifting from a state of safety and protection, to one of perpetual alarm; of real dangers, which no length of time can disarm of their terrors; and sufferings,

ings, which no seasoning can palliate. Even in the regular communities of the Old World, the difference of the rights enjoyed under various governments, has a prodigious effect upon the choice of emigrants in fixing upon new abodes. And what are all the fears of banishment to Siberia, or of French conscription, compared with the risks to which every white inhabitant of Jamaica is exposed, so long as Dessalines is emperor of Hayti, and has a troop of allies in the slaves of every British plantation? In proportion as the number and attachment of those allies is diminished, that is—in proportion as the British plantations are peopled by home-bred negroes, whom their masters are forced to treat well by the impossibility of filling their places, the danger of our planters must be diminished, and the just obstacles to choosing the colonies for a place of residence must be removed.

We may be assured, that the tendency of men is always to follow their stock. When it is vested in foreign trade, they may remain at home; but they generally reside where they see it oftenest. When it is vested in the carrying trade, it generally draws them to one of the spots between which it supports a circulation of commodities. When it happens to be vested in foreign agriculture, it seldom fails to draw them after it. In these lines of employment, no doubt, impolitic restrictions on the part of foreign governments may throw obstacles in the way of the capitalist following his stock, and yet allow the stock to seek its vent; climate we seldom find to produce an equal effect: but the general tendency is strong; and as soon as the artificial impediments are removed, its operation is distinctly perceived. In the very same way, it is clear that the great colonial proprietors ought naturally to reside on their plantations. Two principal causes now prevent them,—the dangerous nature of their colonial residence, and the superior attractions of European society. The latter is of much less consequence than the former cause; both because it operates chiefly on the more wealthy and less valuable as well as extensive class of inhabitants, and because it must be daily weakened as the improvement of the colonies advances. We have proofs, in all the descriptions given of St. Domingo during the last year of its greatness, that the white society there was rapidly increasing, in numbers, elegance, and even splendour, merely from the strength of those inducements which lead men to follow their property: and the progress of such an improvement goes on accelerating; for every family that removes to the island, is a new inducement to those which remain. We may therefore conclude, that nothing but the dangers of insurrection could exert a very great and permanent influence in counteracting the propensity to which we have alluded, and that the measure which removes or lessens that danger,

danger, will necessarily and speedily remove or lessen the non-residence, hitherto so hurtful, both to the interests of the proprietors themselves, to the general character of colonial society, and to the prosperity of the system, in various other points of view.

The excellent management of the negroes in colonies where no supply can be procured, and where the great proportion of the whites reside, is a sufficient proof that these speculations are not founded merely in conjecture. Various circumstances, which it would be needless to enumerate, have placed the settlements of Spain and Portugal nearly in this predicament. Scarcely any proportion of the slaves which compose the lower orders in those colonies, are of African birth; the trade being extremely insignificant, and the natural increase of the blacks very rapid. The whites, too, reside upon their properties, and in the large towns scattered over South America, in a proportion elsewhere unknown. The privileges of the slaves have gradually been extended, first by custom, and then by law, until the period has actually arrived when a Spanish or Portuguese slave hardly conceives himself to be less comfortable, or even less important, than a person in the lower orders of the free inhabitants. The good treatment of those negroes, is partly owing to the residence of their masters, who are guided by their own eyes and interests, not their overseer's, and in its turn tends to encourage that custom of residing: it is partly owing to the difficulty of procuring recruits from Africa, and in its turn tends to diminish more and more the necessity of such supplies.

That the various bad qualities which have been ascribed to the negro character, often with great justice, belong rather to their habits than their nature, and are derived either from the low state of civilization in which the whole race at present is placed, or from the manifold hardships of their unnatural situation in the colonies, appears a proposition not only consistent with the analogy of all the other races of mankind, but immediately deducible from well established facts. The travellers who have visited the interior of Africa, where the influence of the slave trade is much less felt than upon the West Coast, assure us, that the natural dispositions of the negro race are mild, gentle, and amiable in an extraordinary degree: that, far from wanting ingenuity, they have made no contemptible progress in the more refined arts; and have even united into political societies of great extent and complicated structure, notwithstanding the grievous obstacles which are thrown in the way of their civilization, by their remote situation, and their want of water-carriage: that their disposition to voluntary and continued exertions of body and mind, their capacity of industry,

dustry, the great promoter of all human improvement, is not inferior to the same principle in other tribes in similar situations: in a word, that they have the same propensity to improve both their condition, their faculties, and their virtues, which forms so prominent a feature of the human character over all the rest of the world. To detail the facts upon which these opinions are founded, would lead us beyond the bounds prescribed to this discussion; but we refer our readers for a brief statement of them, collected from the accounts of travellers, who support the slave trade and slave system, and given in their own words, to the first Appendix of the tract formerly reviewed, entitled, '*A Concise Statement of the Question regarding the Abolition of the Slave Trade.*' Abundant proofs of the propositions just now advanced will be found in that Appendix, which is indeed only a transcript of various unquestionable authority. But to those who are aware of the value of analogical arguments in a question of this nature, the demonstration may be made still more simple and satisfactory. Let them compare the general circumstances of any European nation whatever,—and, if they please, the individual character, both for talents and virtues, of its inhabitants, at two distant epochs of its history; and let them acknowledge at once how remarkable is the contrast in each particular point. Our readers need not be told that, little more than a century ago, Russia was covered with hordes of barbarians; that cheating, drinking, brutal lust, and the most ferocious excesses of rage, were as well known, and as little blamed, among the better classes of the nobles who frequented the Czar's court, as the more polished and mitigated forms of the same vices are at this day in St. Petersburgh; that literature had never once appeared among its inhabitants in a form to be recognized; and that you might travel over tracts of several days journey, without meeting a man even among the higher classes, whose mind contained the materials of one moment's rational conversation. Although the various circumstances of *external* improvement will certainly not disguise even at this day, and among the individuals of the first classes, the '*vestigia ruris*,' yet no one can presume to dispute that the stuff of which Russians are made has been greatly and fundamentally ameliorated; that their capacities are rapidly unfolding, and their virtues improving, as their habits have been changed, and their communication with the rest of mankind extended. A century ago, it would have been just as miraculous to read a tolerable Russian composition, or find a society of Boyars where a rational person could spend his time with satisfaction, as it would be, at this day, to find the same phenomena at Houssa or Tombuctoo: and speculators who argue about races, and despise the effect of circumstances, would have

have had the same right to decide upon the fate of all the Russias, from an inspection of the Calmuc skull, as they now have to condemn all Africa to everlasting barbarism, from the heads, the colour, and the wool of its inhabitants. If it be still maintained, that even in the end there will always be a sensible difference between the Negro and the European, we demand what reason there is to suppose, that this disparity will be greater than the difference between the Sclavonian and Gothic nations. Admitting every thing that can be urged in favour of the distinction of races, no one has yet denied, that all the families of mankind are capable of great improvement. And though, after all, some tribes should remain inferior to others, it would be ridiculous to deduce from thence either an argument against the possibility of greatly civilizing even the most untoward generation, or an inference against the importance even of the least considerable advances which it may be capable of making towards perfection. That the progress of any race of men, or of the whole species, in the various branches of virtue and power, must be infinite, was never, we believe, maintained by reasoners who deserved the name of philosophers. That this progress is in its nature indefinite; in other words, that no limit can be assigned to its extent or acceleration, is a proposition suggested by a thousand direct considerations, as well as obvious analogies, and deserves the name of a general fact, rather than a plausible speculation.

Without pretending to credit all that has been related of the improvements made by the Negroes in the different countries which they have been fated to inhabit, we need only cast our eyes upon a few unquestionable facts, and compare their achievements in several situations, to be convinced that the general proposition applies to them as well as to the rest of mankind. The superiority of a Negro in the interior of Africa to one on the Slave Coast is a matter of fact. The enemies of the slave trade reasonably impute the degeneracy of the maritime tribes to that baneful commerce. Its friends have, on the other hand, deduced from thence an argument against the negro character, which, say they, is not improved by intercourse with civilized nations. But the *fact* is admitted. To see it exemplified, we have only to consult the travels of Mr. Parke, edited by Bryan Edwards; and the same observation has been found, by Mr. Barrow, applicable to the tribes south of the line, who increase in civilization as you leave the Slave Coast. Compare the accounts given by these travellers, of the skill, the industry, the excellent moral qualities of the Africans in Houssa, Tombuctoo, &c. with the pictures that have been drawn of the same race, living in all the barbarity which the supply of our slave ships requires; you will be convinced that the

negro

negro is as much improved by a change of circumstances as the white. The state of slavery is in none of its modifications favourable to improvement; yet, compare the Creole negro with the imported slave, and you will find that even the most debasing, the most brutifying form of servitude, the pitiless drudgery of the field and whip, though it must necessarily eradicate most of the moral qualities of the African, has not prevented him from profiting in his intellectual faculties by the intercourse of more civilized men. The events of the war in St. Domingo read us a lesson on this point, which it would be happy if we could be permitted to forget;—negroes organizing immense armies; laying plans of campaigns and sieges, which, if not scientific, have at least been to a certain degree successful against the finest European troops; arranging forms of government, and even proceeding some length in executing the most difficult of human enterprises; entering into commercial relations with foreigners, and conceiving the idea of contracting alliances; acquiring something like a maritime force, and, at any rate, navigating vessels in the tropical seas, with as much skill and foresight as that complicated operation requires. (*See our Review of M'Kinnon's Tour*, No. VIII.)

This is certainly a spectacle which ought to teach us the effects of circumstances in developing the human faculties, and prescribe bounds to that presumptuous arrogance, which would confine to one race, the characteristic privilege of the species. We have, indeed, the proof in our losses. We have torn those men from their country on the vain and wicked pretence, that their nature is radically inferior to our own. We have treated them so as to stunt the natural growth of their virtues and their reason. Our crimes have been partly successful; for the West Indian, like all other slaves, has copied some of the tyrant's vices. But their ingenuity has flourished apace, even under all disadvantages; and the negro species is already so much improved, that while we madly continue to despise them, and, from our contempt, to justify a repetition of the crimes which have transplanted them, the real question in many a thinking man's mind is, how long they will suffer us to exist in the New world. All the arguments in the brains of a thousand metaphysicians, will never explain away these facts. They may tell us, that brute force and adaptation to the climate, are the only faculties which the negroes of the West Indies possess. Something more than this must concur to form and subsist armies, and to distribute civil powers in a state. And the negroes, who in Africa cannot count ten, and bequeath the same portion of arithmetic to their children, must have improved, both individually and as a species, before

before they can use the mariner's compass, and rig square-sailed vessels, and cultivate whole districts of cotton for their own profit in the Carribee Islands. The very ordinary circumstance of the improvement visible in the negroes brought over to Europe as domestics, and their striking superiority to such of their countrymen as still remain, either in Africa or the West Indies, may perhaps illustrate the doctrine now maintained, even to those whom the more general views of the fact have failed of convincing. It is certainly not assuming too much, to suppose that there is a wider difference between one of those black servants and a native of the Slave Coast, than between a London chairman and a subject of the Irish kings who flourished a few centuries ago. Nor is there any doubt that the fidelity, courage, and other good qualities, generally remarkable in freed negroes, distinguish them as much from the slaves, of whose cowardice and treachery such pictures have been drawn, as the various feats of valour recorded in the history of the Welch, place them above those wretched Britons who resisted their Saxon enemies only with groans.

We may be assured, then, that there is nothing in the physical or moral constitution of the Negro, which renders him an exception to the general character of the species, and prevents him from improving in all the estimable qualities of our nature, when placed in circumstances tolerably favourable to his advancement. Nay, under all possible disadvantages, we find evident proofs of the progress he is capable of making, whether insulated by the deserts of Africa from all communication with other nations, or surrounded by the slave factories of the Europeans, or groaning under the cruelties of the West India system. That this progress will be accelerated in proportion as those grand impediments are removed; that while Africa is civilized by the establishment of a legitimate commerce between its fertile and populous regions, and the more polished nations of the world, the negroes already in the West Indies will rapidly improve in all the best faculties of the mind, as soon as the effects of the abolition shall begin to appear in the ameliorated treatment they experience from their masters, is a proposition which follows obviously from the remarks now premised. To trace all the probable steps by which this great measure must ultimately change the situation of the West Indian labourers, would carry us beyond the bounds of this article. It may be sufficient to suggest a few of the most remarkable gradations which will probably conduce to this necessary reform in the colonial system. And here we shall find direct arguments, from analogy, sufficient to guide us, if our readers are disposed to admit the legitimacy

gitimacy of reasoning from the history of other races of mankind, to the probable history of the Africans.

In the first place, it will not be long before a milder system of treatment increases the productive powers of the negro's labour. That the first two or three seasons may be less prosperous for the planter, in consequence of the change, has been sometimes admitted by the advocates of the abolition. Indeed, changes of every kind have a tendency at the beginning to produce slight derangements in all political systems; and it is one of the miserable consequences of human impolicy, that the correction of the greatest evils in society generally increases, for the moment, the bad effects of the original error. But the connexion is so constant and so clear between industry and freedom, and consequently between increased exertions of voluntary labour, and the milder treatment which approaches the slave to the condition of liberty, that we may reasonably expect to see the temporary derangement last for a very trifling period. The history of all Europe demonstrates the immense effects which the milder treatment of the labouring orders naturally produces upon the value of their industry. To take only a very late example—It is well known that the proprietors of Hungary, almost immediately after the reform of Maria Teresa, began to feel the salutary consequences of the limitations of the corvées due from their peasants. When, instead of possessing full power to appropriate the whole of the serf's labour, the lord could only take two days in each week, he found those two days worth much more than all the seven had been before; although, at the very same time, he lost the right of retaining the peasant on his ground against his will. If such mitigations have been favourable to the master, still more advantageous must they be to the slave. And can any improvement bear more directly upon the condition of the lower orders, particularly upon their civilization, than an augmentation of their wealth and of their importance to the superior classes? Such will probably be the first great effect of the abolition, long before time shall have been given for any positive and definite change in the system. It is not unlikely that the number of holidays will next be increased, or the hours of work in the day diminished; that the negro will by degrees be left more and more to his own care, and will begin to feel himself more dependent on the produce of his industry. The less that laws interfere in this delicate matter, so much the better for the master, and still more for the slave. The mutual interests of the parties will be the best of laws; the most just in its enactments, the most unerring in its operation, and indeed the only one capable of being accurately

accurately executed.* When something like industry has taken root in the plantations, it may be time to introduce, in the same silent, gradual, and voluntary manner, the grand improvement of task work. This has already been attempted with the happiest effect in several of the colonies; in Brazil; in some parts of the Spanish main, in the Bahamas, and elsewhere. (*See our Review of M'Kinnon's Tour, No. VIII.*) It has been introduced also in Surrinam; though, from the peculiar circumstances of the Dutch planters, and perhaps from its premature adoption, it has not there produced such salutary changes as in the other settlements. Indeed, while the bad effects of the old system flourish in full vigour, preventing the general improvement of the slaves in their habits of voluntary exertion, it is only in certain kinds of work that tasks can be distributed. It is reserved for the new mode of treatment to render the *universal* introduction of task work, not only an easy, but a necessary improvement, by approximating the slaves to the condition of free labourers. And when these changes shall have been effected slowly, and with the consent of all proprietors, not taken by vote, but freely given by each individual; will not the lower orders in the West Indies be exactly in the state of the *ascripti glebæ*, under the milder feudal governments of the old world? It is but one step to make them *coloni partiarii*, or serf tenants paying a proportion of their crops to the lord of the land, as in fact they are already in some parts of Spanish and Portuguese America, where the richest ores and pearls are obtained, by means of this very contract between the master and his slave. Nor does it much signify in what form the last change

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* Among the very few measures of detail which it may be hereafter found necessary to adopt, in order to prevent those occasional exceptions to the general good conduct of the masters formerly pointed out, (*Review of the 'Crisis,'* No. I.) there is one that deserves our particular attention. It will be absolutely incumbent on the legislature of the mother country, to prohibit all carrying of slaves, against their will, from one colony to another, and from any of our own, to any of the foreign settlements. The certain increase of the Negro population, after the abolition, would otherwise give rise to a West Indian slave trade, scarcely less abominable than the African traffic. The state of the slaves in Virginia may convince us, in general, how greatly their numbers must augment, in the more favourable circumstances of the islands. But the case of Curasoa is still more in point. It is a fact, unknown in this country, but perfectly well proved in Holland, that without a single importation, that island has for many years exported, annually, above 1500 negroes, the natural growth of its plantations. This circumstance deserves great attention, also, for its own sake.

change of all shall then be effected by the total emancipaton of the Negro. He will, by this natural gradation, have become civilized to a certain extent, and fully capable of enjoying the station of a free man, for which all are fitted by nature. In the course of time, we may hope to see the same relaxation of prejudice against him on the part of the whites, which has made the European baron cease to look down upon his serf as an inferior animal. The mixture even of the races, is a thing by no means impossible, and will remove the only pretext that can remain for supposing the West Indian society, as new modelled by the abolition, to be in the smallest degree different from the society in Europe, after the successors of the Romans ceased to procure slaves in commerce.

These observations we now leave to the consideration of such readers as may take the trouble of comparing them both with the facts formerly stated upon the general question of the African traffic, and with the well known history of the civilized communities to which they have themselves the happiness of belonging. We are fully persuaded, that such a comparison need be followed but for a few steps, in order to demonstrate that the foregoing deductions are matters of fact, rather than of speculative theory; and that the only postulate required, to render the feeble sketch here exhibited, a correct portrait, is that leading measure which the enlightened legislature of Great Britain stands pledged in a manner to adopt,—the total and immediate abolition of the slave trade.

ART. IX. *The New Practice of Cookery, Pastry, Baking, and Preserving, being the Country Housewife's best Friend.* By Mrs. Hudson and Mrs. Donat, present and late Housekeepers and Cooks to Mrs. Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton, and published by her permission. 1804. pp. 242. 8vo.

Culina Famulatrix Medicinæ; or, *Receipts in Modern Cookery, with a Medical Commentary written by Ignotus, and revised by A. Hunter, M. D. F. R. S. L. & E.* The Second Edition. York. 1805. pp. 268. 8vo.

IT seems to have been a complaint familiar in the mouths of our ancestors, and which we have too often seen cause to re-echo in the present day, 'That God sends good meat, but the devil sends cooks.' The irritability, the obstinacy, and the perfidy of the present culinary race, indeed, obviously demonstrate their ascent from regions even hotter than those which they occupy upon earth;

earth; and, while the direct attacks of the arch-enemy are opposed and counteracted by the clergy, who may be considered as the regular forces to whom our defence is entrusted, it is with pleasure we see a disposition, in the learned and experienced among the laity, to volunteer against the hordes of greasy Cossacks whom he detaches to those quarters, as marauders upon our daily patience and our annual income.

In first entering the field upon this occasion, we had some difficulty to settle the rank of these auxiliaries amongst themselves, or, to drop the metaphor, we were at a loss, after considering the high claims to attention preferred by both publications, to which we ought to give the precedence in our critique. It is true, Mesdames Hudson and Donat prefer a bold claim to the grateful recollection of those who have regaled on their dainties. 'It becomes them not,' as they are modestly pleased to express it, 'to judge of their own merit; but with honest confidence they appeal to a numerous list of subscribers, who have *eat* and *judged* of their works.' In this passage there is some ambiguity. If, by this intimation, it is meant that the subscribers actually ate the volume to which they subscribed, we, the Reviewers, will frankly tell Mrs. Hudson and Mrs. Donat, that, notwithstanding the evangelical authority which may be quoted for this literary diet, we cannot bring our stomachs to submit to it, especially as, in one sense, we are already obliged to devour many more works than we are well able to digest. On the other hand, if the judgment referred to was formed from actually partaking of the dishes analyzed in this volume, we only want the opportunity, happily enjoyed by these subscribers, conscientiously to join in their verdict. Upon the slightest intimation, the long coach shall convey our critical fraternity to the hospitable mansion where these fair dames have presided, and do preside over the good things of the earth; and then—*fiat experimentum!*

By the same rule, although Ignotus resides at rather too great a distance for an inroad of this nature, yet an actual experiment might be usefully made on a Yorkshire pie, transmitted by the mail or waggon. And upon this fair system of practical knowledge did we propose to have decided the merits of these candidates for culinary renown, till we recollected the unlucky termination of a course of lectures on the art of cookery in this city, which was abruptly broken off by the indignant professor, in consequence of a hungry student having eat up a principal specimen, as it circulated through the class for the admiration, but not the consumption of the audience. Deprived, therefore, of this most agreeable mode of exercising our critical sagacity, we choose to arrange the precedence of these rival works upon the gallant

gallant principle of *place aux dames*; and we are convinced, that Ignotus and his editor, although the latter be M. D. F. R. S. L. & E. will, with their usual good humour, give the front rank to the 'present and late Housekeepers and Cooks to Mrs. Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton.'

The prefatory advertisement to this book is too interesting to be suppressed. It shows at once the deep learning of the ladies by whom it was written; their honest sense of the dignity of their vocation, and their laudable zeal for its being conducted on the true principles of the British constitution, as well as upon those of sound experimental philosophy.

'The late Dr. Black, Professor of Chymistry in the University of Edinburgh, has instructed and enlightened the world by his philosophical, ingenious, and patient researches in that science, which somewhere in his works he has defined to be "the effect of heat and mixture upon bodies."

'This definition applies as directly to the cook as to the chymist: His kitchen is his school; his boilers, his digesters; his stoves, and not forgetting his cradle-spit, correspond to the crucible, the alembic, the retort, and the other apparatus of the chymist; and both are equally applied to prove the effect of heat and mixture upon bodies. It must be admitted, at the same time, that the range or kingdom of the bodies they severally operate upon, are wonderfully different. The chymist gropes below ground, and in the dark, through the mineral kingdom; while the cook operates in the light, and above board, upon the animal and the vegetable world.

'The judges also who are to decide upon the result of their several experiments, are not less different and opposite, than the subjects they have operated upon. The chymist lays his experiments, stuffed generally with mathematical demonstrations, or the more abstruse calculations of the *minus* and *plus* of algebra, before some Royal Society, composed of a few meagre philosophers, 'with spectacles on 's nose;' while the judges the cook appeals to, are all the jolly *bons vivants* in the Imperial Kingdom; and his compounds are drawn from every thing that is delicate and high-flavoured in the animal and in the vegetable world; and, without any other demonstration than what his larding and his sauces give, he appeals directly to the sound and nice palate of his numerous judges.

'The editors of the following culinary experiments do not pretend to rank with the ingenious and the philosophic Dr. Black, Lavoisier, or other eminent chymists of the modern school. As, however, they are professed cooks, the natural attachment and vanity of *metier* may perhaps allow them to say, without offence, that they do hold the '*Art of Cookery*' to be not the least useful branch of the great and comprehensive science of Chymistry; and, having already avowed themselves professed cooks, they will not trouble their readers with a minute detail of the interesting incidents of their lives, as too generally is the practice of

of modern authors; such as, where they were severally born, where educated and initiated in the mysteries of cookery; suffice it to say, that they have each, successively, and for years officiated as cook and house-keeper in the kitchen of Mrs. Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton, who has kindly allowed them for their own benefit, to publish the following receipts, which they have practised and performed there. It becomes not them to boast of their own merit; but with honest confidence they appeal to a numerous list of Subscribers who have *eat* and *judged* of their works.

'They have subjoined many valuable receipts in house-keeping, for curing beef, for making hams and bacon, for the dairy, and pastry-baking, and the best receipt for artificial yest, which can be made and used the same day, and does not make bread sour; all of which they have practised at Smeaton with wonderful success: *In short, they now offer to the world, not a cobweb theory of cookery, such as the flimsy constitution-mongers of France have spun for these twelve or fifteen years past out of their distempered brains, to deceive and ruin that miserable people:* No! here facts only are narrated; and by a correct attention to the directions given, the cook, whether male or female, may rest assured of meeting the approbation of the nicest and most delicate palate; and will prove particularly useful for those who reside in the country. The different receipts for making the India currie powder and pellow, are taken from the best practice of their native country.'

From this advertisement, much extraordinary information may be derived. We have already noticed, that there is great room to believe that the subscribers, to testify their approbation of the contents, actually ate the book, like the man who, in his zealous applause of roast beef, devoured the spit from which it had been taken: but this is not all. We are informed in point of historical fact, that the various legislators of France have, for these twelve or fifteen years past, been busily engaged in digesting systems of cookery. And, truly, though this is mentioned in rather derogating terms, on account, apparently, of their bad success, we consider the fact to be, on the whole, a discovery in their favour, since, for our own parts, we never suspected them to be so usefully or innocently employed. It is a fact of subordinate importance, but nevertheless somewhat curious, that the whole Royal Society make use of one pair of spectacles, placed on the nose doubtless of the President. We have long observed an unvaried coincidence in the views and pursuits of this learned body, and are happy to be able to trace it to a cause equally unsuspected and satisfactory.

As to the receipts which follow this curious and instructive preface, they are distinctly expressed; and from the well known hospitality and elegance of the family in which they were composed, we have no doubt they will be found admirable. We must observe, however, that they are arranged in a rather mis-

cellaneous order; for after a receipt to make 'a half-peck bun,' we pass abruptly to another which begins, '*The slaked lime* must be well sifted and steeped in a pit,' &c. &c.; and again, 'Take two shovels full of *coarse water sand*, one ditto of hammer slag well sifted, one ditto *powdered brick dust*, &c.' Now, although we are specially directed that the former mixture shall be wrought into 'thin porridge,' and the latter made neither 'too fat nor too poor,' yet, we are somewhat inclined to doubt, whether any management or attention in the preparation, could render them digestible by human stomachs, or, indeed, whether they can be strictly said to belong to the arts of cookery, pastry-baking, or preserving, unless the ladies are of opinion with the Copper Captain, that 'a piece of buttered wall is excellent.' Other receipts occur, in which 'an ounce of *white arsenic*,' and the 'expressed juice of the *deadly nightshade*,' are the chief ingredients. These, we were at first glance inclined to suppose borrowed from the French systems already mentioned, perhaps the original recipe for a restorative cordial *à l'hopital*, or a *fricandeau à Toussaint*,—if, indeed, the patriotic composers did not design them for the regale of the Emperor himself on his long announced visit.

The very *errata* of this work evince the care and deep science of the compilers. Some corrections refer to the ingredients; and it will be prudent to attend to them specially, as the error, according to the phrase of the Civilians, is sometimes in *substantialibus*. Thus we have, 'for *linen*, read *lemon*;' 'for *chicken*, read *onion*;' 'for *pepper*, read *paper*.' Others regard accessories; as, 'after *raspberries*, (in a receipt for making jam) add *together with two pounds and a half raw sugar*;' or, 'for *mix it all with the foregoing ingredients*, read *and mix them with a mutchkin and a half of brandy*.' Others refer to proportion; as, 'for *pint and a half*, read *bit*;' and, 'for *half a*, read *three thirds*.' This last correction appeared to us to conceal some new and abstract doctrine in fractions, adopted perhaps from the facetious Costard; for ladies acquainted with philosophy cannot be ignorant of Shakspeare.—'*Biron*. Three times three is nine. *Costard*. Not so, Sir; under correction, I hope it is not so. *Biron*. By Jove, I always took three threes for nine. *Costard*. O Lord, Sir, it were a pity you should get your living by reckoning, Sir.'—

Upon the whole, besides the receipts for dressed dishes, which it is not in the power of every housewife to place on her board, this little work contains many useful instructions concern the poultry yard and dairy, which afford the cheapest and most wholesome regale to a country family.

The work of Ignotus, being more systematic and classical, claims a graver and more elaborate discussion. And, in the first place, we have to remark, that whereas all other books of cookery

ery contain domestic receipts for medicine, promiscuously inserted amongst those for food, Ignotus, with the assistance, we presume, of his learned editor, has accompanied the description of each savoury mess, with a medical commentary on its use and abuse; an invitation to partake, or a caution to shun it. A suspicious person, considering the profession of the editor, might here be tempted to exclaim

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes;

thinking, perhaps, that such a connexion may subsist betwixt a doctor and a disease, as betwixt a sportsman and his game, since, although the business of each is the destruction of individuals, both must be presumed to take great care to encourage the breed. But we will cheerfully acquit Ignotus of any premeditated design against our health; for, although his plentiful table, stocked with the dainties described in his work, may occasionally have converted a guest into a patient, we are sure it could not be with the felonious purpose of indemnifying himself for the expense of the entertainment. For this we appeal to the following liberal sentiment, appended to an excellent receipt for pease-soup.

'This is a good set-off against high seasoned dishes. An occasional abstinence that does not allow the stomach to be quite empty at any one time, is a measure highly salutary, and for religious purposes, is perhaps preferable to long fasting; a practice, medically to be condemned. An honest physician, who, regardless of his fees, can view with pleasure the healthy state of a family where he has been received with kindness, will be happy in the recommendation of a practice that is calculated to preserve the general health of his friends. But to the disgrace of a profession, otherwise useful and honourable, there are some men who, like the savages upon a rocky coast, view an epidemical disease as a "God-send." p. 113–14.

At the same time, while we do justice to the liberality of the views of Ignotus, we can by no means acquit him of leading his readers into temptation. It is hardly enough to say to an epicure, in the words of Cato, 'Your death and life, your bane and antidote are both before you.' Describing a rich dish, and then stigmatizing it as unwholesome, is only calling for the water-engine after you have set the house on fire. Our first parents ate, when death was denounced as the inevitable consequence; and their descendants, with undegenerated courage, and a full consciousness of their danger, are ready to eat themselves into gout, and drink themselves into palsy. To add to the weight of his remonstrances, Ignotus has called in the assistance of Archæus, the genius of the stomach, a personification by which Van Helmont and others expressed the digestive power. Lest the unlearned reader should suppose Archæus, whose authority is so often referred to, to be the name, a French *bon vivant*, or a Hungarian

garian professor, Ignotus gives us the following account of his person and office.

'Van Helmont gave the name of Archæus to a spirit that he supposed existed in the body, for the purpose of regulating and keeping in order the innumerable glands, ducts, and vessels; and though this spirit visits every part, his chief post is at the upper orifice of the stomach, where he acts the part of a custom-house officer, allowing nothing to pass unexamined that, by the law of nature, has the appearance of being contraband. This part of his duty being only required during meal-times, the remaining part of the twenty-four hours (for he never sleeps) is employed in rubbing, scrubbing and repairing the waste of the body, occasioned by the continual friction of the fluids against the sides of the containing vessels. For this last purpose, and an important one it is, he is supposed to select from the chyle such particles as he may stand in need of; but as he may sometimes be in want of one kind more than of another, he very judiciously obtains it by bringing on a *longing* for a particular kind of food. For example, when the internal coat of the intestines is abraded by a diarrhœa or dysentery, a longing is brought on for fried tripe with melted butter, as containing the greatest quantity of materials proper for the repair of bowels so disordered. To this circumstance, modern physicians do not sufficiently attend, neither are they sufficiently awake to the necessity of prescribing a diet for persons in health, whose chyle should be of a nature for supplying Archæus with *general* materials, without compelling him to call for them. The folly, therefore, of keeping to one kind of diet, whether high or low, is abundantly evident, as, in that case, Archæus must sometimes be overstocked with materials that he may have no occasion for, and be in want of such as his office may stand in need of. And here it will be necessary to remark, for the information of medical men, that a microscopical examination of the chyle of different men, made after sudden deaths, has proved to a demonstration, that the chyle of the human body contains different shaped particles, round, oval, long, square, angular, kidney-shaped, heart-shaped, &c. varying according to the food taken in. In consequence of this important discovery, the practitioner has only to direct such food as may contain the particles that Archæus may stand in need of. For example: Are the kidneys diseased? Then prescribe stews and broths, made of ox, deer, and sheep's kidneys. Asthmas require dishes prepared from the lungs of sheep, deer, calves, hares, and lambs. Are the intestines diseased? Then prescribe tripe, boiled, fried, or fricasseed. When this practice has become general, Archæus will be enabled to remove every disease incident to the human body, by the assistance of the cook only. And as all persons, from the palace to the cottage, will receive the benefit of my discovery, I shall expect a Parliamentary reward, at least equal to what was given to Mrs. Stevens, Dr. Jenner, and Dr. Smyth. On the last revision of the College dispensatory, among other things of less moment, such as ordering fomentations to be made with distilled water, the name of Archæus was changed into Anima Medica, as more expressive of a *Maid Servant of all Work*. With men

men of deep researches, I will not dispute the propriety of the alteration, as I conceive that such a violence could not be done but after serious investigation.' p. 119—122.

This extract may give the reader some idea of the lively manner in which Ignotus has handled his subject. In fact, the whole book is very entertaining, and excites no small degree of interest, especially if read about an hour before dinner. The medical remarks are excellent, although apparently too indulgent towards the *gourmand*. The author stands completely exculpated from the charge of Dr. Last against the regular physicians, who 'drenched the bowels of Christians with pulse and water, as if they were the tripes of a brute beast.' Thus, it is remarked, 'as a singular circumstance, that persons of a gouty habit should be most fond of high-seasoned dishes;' but the singularity would have vanished, had the proposition borne, that the persons most fond of high-seasoned dishes usually have a gouty habit. It was not, however, to be expected that, with a stoical severity, Ignotus should bluntly attack the very critics on whose verdict his fame must depend. He is not sparing of gentle hints for their welfare; and compounds on the part of Archæus for three days' high-living, with a fourth day's temperance, and occasionally some gentle physic.

> Where truth commands, there's no man can offend,
> That with a modest love corrects his friend;
> So the reproof has temper, kindness, ease,
> Though 'tis in toasting bread, or butt'ring pease.

In fine, as long as a man thinks more frequently and more seriously about his dinner than about any thing else, as was the unvaried opinion and practice of Dr. Johnson, so long will the parsley wreath won by Ignotus remain unblighted. The work is with great propriety dedicated 'To those gentlemen who freely give two guineas for a turtle-dinner at the tavern, when they might have a more wholesome one at home for ten shillings.' A fatted hog, the emblem, perhaps, of one of these worthy patrons, decorates the frontispiece. And so we take leave of Ignotus, in the words of Beaumont and Fletcher, as of 'a gentleman extraordinarily seen in deep mysteries; well read, deeply learned, and thoroughly grounded in the hidden knowledge of all sauces, sallads, and pot-herbs whatsoever.'

ART. X. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Harmony in Language, and of the Mechanism of Verse, Modern and Ancient.* By William Mitford, Esquire. 8vo. 1804.

THIS interesting treatise, which was first published anonymously, has been greatly enlarged, and reprinted with the name of

of its learned author. Mr. Mitford has stated in his dedication, perhaps somewhat too boastfully, that more book-learning, acquaintance with living tongues, leisure, and industry, may probably not soon meet together in another person. We give him full credit for his learning; but the subject, as he has handled it, did not necessarily demand any extraordinary extent of reading. It did, however, require nice powers of discrimination; and those he appears to possess: it also required a very wide acquaintance with living languages, in which, we suspect him to be somewhat deficient; for it does not appear that he is acquainted with any but French, Italian, and the sister tongue of Spain. The work, however, is unquestionably valuable; though there are many points upon which we are compelled to differ from the author; and we are not without hopes that, upon reconsideration, he may assent to some of our statements; and that we may suggest to him some new and curious subjects of investigation, which we have not sufficient learning, leisure, or industry, to explore thoroughly. The most important points of difference between us, relate to the number and sounds of vowels, and the mechanism of Latin verse, which, according to Mr. Mitford, is regulated solely by certain dispositions of quantities; whereas, in opposition both to that statement, and to the established creed of modern writers, we are humbly of opinion that, in various instances, it was regulated by accent also. This point is of some importance; because, if our opinion be not ill founded, it will appear, that many modern verses, which have been esteemed good and classical metre, are fundamentally faulty. We have not leisure to pursue these observations to their utmost extent: we shall deem it sufficient, if we can establish, that some accentual rules were observed; and we shall leave for the future investigation of those who have more industry and learning, to inquire into the truth of other rules, which we suspect to have existed; and to trace that which we suspect also, but of which the proofs are probably lost with the vulgar poetry of the dark ages,—namely, the gradual progress by which accent superseded quantity in European metre.

The introductory chapter of Mr. Mitford's book, contains several definitions, which will be useful and even necessary to those who are inclined to consider the principles of harmony in language, and the mechanism of verse. We shall quote the most important, without commenting on them.

'Of the articulated sounds of which language is composed, the smallest integral or portion which can exist as whole by itself, is what we call a *syllable*. Of the unarticulated sounds, which constitute music, the smallest integral is what we call a *note*. Among the properties of syllables, then, we must seek the principles of the harmony of language, as

as those of the harmony of music, among its notes. A musical note exists only in its specific tone. By *tone*, we mean sound as it is characterized, not by any varieties of articulation, but by those indicated by the terms loud, soft, high, low, sharp, flat, shrill, deep. Among our grammarians, instead of the word *tone*, derived from the Greek, the word *accent*, derived from the Latin, is in common use. *Syllable* exists by articulation; with which tone, or accent, is necessarily co-existent, but not a specific tone. Any among the numerous varieties of tone, may co-exist with any among the innumerable varieties of syllable. Varying tones or accents, in pleasing succession, equally in music and in language, constitute *melody*. The *time* employed in pronouncing a syllable, compared with the time employed in pronouncing other syllables, at the same rate of delivery, is called, in grammatical phrase, the *quantity* of the syllable. The same thing, in speaking of a musical note, is called simply the *time*. The term *measure*, derived from the Latin, or *metre*, as we often call it, from the Greek, means measure of time, or quantity, as it is indicated by one note, or combination of notes in music, compared with other notes or combinations of notes, and by one syllable or by a combination of syllables in speech, compared with other syllables or combinations of syllables.' p. 4.

'Harmony in language, is the result of a happy combination of measure and melody.' p. 9.

Having explained himself thus far with precision, Mr. Mitford proceeds, in the second section, to survey the sounds of the English language, and in a later part of the work, those of the Greek and Latin. In this, we find material cause to differ from him: we think he has confounded some sounds, and overlooked others; and are of opinion, that he has hazarded some assertions, which are quite unfounded. For instance, he has contended, that the Greeks could not have used the sound of the French *u*, because it is to be found only in the Parisian dialect; and in three different passages he asserts that no other people use this sound, or have any character to express it. (*See p.* 366.) The fact however is, that it is very frequent in the Danish and the Icelandic; in both which, it is expressed by the letter *y*, which is not applied to any other purpose by the Danes. The same sound is always given to *oo*, in part of Devon and Somersetshire, and in Norfolk, as well as to *o* in *to* and *do*, which is spoken shorter: with us in Scotland, it is still more familiar. It is likewise given in Gaelic to *ao*; and we understand that it occurs also in Welsh. Mr. Mitford is equally mistaken in saying, that the nasal *n* forms one of 'the characteristical features of the French language, which distinguish it at a wide distance from all others.' This nasal sound, which we express by *ng*, is perhaps much more frequent amongst the Portuguese; and from their manner of expressing it by a mark over the vowel, without writing the *n*, the French, perhaps, adopted the absurd notion, that the

the nasal *n* is a vowel. 'Le son nasal étant une voyelle.' *Levisac.* It is possible, however, that this sound, which is not used in Spanish, was introduced into Portugal by the French, who settled there under Henry of Burgundy, father to the first King of Portugal, in the end of the 11th century. We believe it is also used in Valencia and Catalonia, which were rescued from the Moors by French assistance. Catalonia was ruled by French counts of Barcelona, till it was united to the crown of Arragon in the twelfth century.

Mr. Mitford having enlarged very much, and in a desultory manner, on the sound of vowels, it is impossible for us to follow him regularly through all his observations. We think it better, therefore, briefly to state the sounds with which we are acquainted; some of which are not to be found in the English, and some are rare in other tongues. We do not indeed know of any language, in which all the vowels with their variations of long and short are used; and on that account, no perfect alphabet exists, by which they can be represented. Though we must in the following scheme use diphthongal characters to express some of them, we nevertheless mean to represent simple sounds, and we only use those characters for want of proper ones. By a vowel, we understand *the smallest distinct portion of sound, produced by a simple motion of the organs of speech, and long or short according to the length of the spiration.* We find nine distinct long vowels, all which (except perhaps one) have their corresponding short sounds; so that at least seventeen characters would be necessary to express them clearly. Of these nine vowels, three may be called *guttural*, because sounded at the root of the tongue; three *labial*, because they are uttered by protruding the lips; and three *dental*, because they are formed by applying the tongue to the lower teeth.

Guttural Vowels. The first is spoken by throwing the breath to the lower part of the mouth, and pressing the point of the tongue downwards; the second, by keeping the tongue suspended; the third, by throwing the breath to the roof of the mouth and elevating the tongue. In speaking the third, the mouth is opened to its utmost extent; in the second, much less; and in the first, very little. The tongue must not touch the teeth.

1. *eu.* The long sound is perhaps not used in English, but it is in the first syllable of the French word *meurtre*, with the short sound in the second.—*Short* in *son, sun, dirt, her.* The French female *e* is this vowel spoken very short, and in some words scarcely sounded at all.
2. *aw.* In *hawk.*—*Short* in *stock, wan, horse, moss.* The Danes express this sound by *aa*, the Swedes by *a* with an *o* superscript.

3.

3. *a.* In *passing, example.* In the French *bras*, and the Italian *padre*, used longer than in any English words. *Short* in *passive, ample.*

Labial Vowels. The positions of the tongue, and method of breathing in pronouncing these, are respectively similar to those which produce the guttural vowels; but in speaking the last, the lips are compressed and considerably protruded; in the second, they are compressed somewhat more, and protruded less; in the first, they are very much compressed, so that the point of the upper lip bends almost over the lower, which is drawn inwards a little.

1. *u.* Not used in pure English; but in the French *dûr*, and in Gaelic *aon.* Expressed in Danish and Icelandic by *y.* Used in *moon*, according to the dialects of Devon, Somerset, and Norfolk.—*Short* in the French *du*; in the Somersetshire *to*; &c. We are not sufficiently skilled in Danish pronunciation, to state in what words this is used long, and in what short.
2. *oo.* In *fool, moon, you, brute.*—*Short* in *full, bush.*
3. *o.* In *more, hoary, morose.*—*Short*, a sound rare in English, though common in almost every other language. The last in the French *bouillon*, and the first in the Italian *vostro.*—The English generally use it in *protect, morass:* but, for the most part they give a short *o* the sound of the second guttural vowel, as in *horse*, &c. which foreigners pronounce with the true short *o.*

Dental Vowels. The first of these is spoken, by applying the tongue to the bottom, the second to the middle, and the third to the top of the lower teeth. In speaking the last, the mouth is opened to the utmost extent of which it is capable, while the tongue rests against the top of the teeth: the second with less, and the first with still less distension; but greater in all three than in the second guttural.

1. *e* in *hair, hairy.*—*Short* in *heriot, very, merry.*
2. *i* in *here, niece, peace, mere.* *Short* in *hither, miss, mirror.*
3. *oi* in *fine, fight.* Frequently expressed in German by *eu*, as *feuer;* in Danish by *eg*, as *egn*, and *jeg*, which is pronounced like the English pronoun *I*, with a *y* before it.—We know of no word in which it is used short. It requires considerable organic exertion; and on that account, the force of the spiration is not easily moderated; nor is it used in all languages.

N. B. In the dental vowels, the different degrees of distension produce the variety of sound, and it is not very important against what part of the teeth the tongue shall strike; but the wider the mouth is opened, the higher the tongue strikes naturally. Thus,

Thus, it appears, that there are three distinct classes of vowels, with their variations of long and short. We are aware, that in different dialects they are spoken longer or shorter, and thence arises the peculiar pronunciation of each country, which a stranger seldom acquires perfectly; but the broad division of long and short, is sufficient for general use. The second class may be made more or less labial: the German and Danish ö fluctuates between the first guttural and first labial. We do not think the human voice capable of producing any other distinct vowels. Those who are inclined to examine the accuracy of our definitions, must speak the vowels slowly, without adding consonants. The sound which we express in *house*, and which very few foreigners can imitate, is not a simple sound; it cannot be spoken by the protrusion of the lips, without first opening them for the guttural vowel with which it commences. The reason that foreigners seldom speak it right is, that they attempt to compound it of *aw-oo*, or *a-oo*, instead of *eu-oo:* which can be spoken much more rapidly than either of the other combinations, because the tongue, in speaking *eu* quickly, is nearly in the same position as in speaking *oo*.

Diphthongs are formed by the rapid combination of two simple sounds; the middle vowels of the two last classes most frequently form a part in such combinations, and are then generally expressed in English by *w* and *y;* and they seem to have a singular affinity to the aspirate. Perhaps if all the nice varieties of pronunciation could be brought together, a chain might be discovered connecting almost imperceptibly the different forms of the aspirate with those two vowels when used in diphthongal combinations. They may meet together, as in *you* and *we;* or be reduplicated, as in *year*, *yĕs*, *woo*, *wood*. The *oo* or *w* is rarely used after a vowel, by the English, in diphthongal combinations, perhaps only after *eu* in *house*, &c. *aoo* and *eoo*, which the Italians use in *aureo*, *Europa*, being never found in English. The English use several combinations with the *i* or *y; yoo* in *due*, *beauty*, *use*, *Europe; awy* in *coin*, *cloister; ay* in the monosyllable, and very frequently in reading Greek. And here we must take notice of a great error committed by those who have stated that the long vowel in *fine* was the same as that diphthongal sound. Whoever has been accustomed to read Greek according to the English fashion, will immediately perceive the wide difference between χαῖρε and χίος, the last having a simple, the first a double sound.

An attempt to introduce regular orthography into the different languages of Europe, or even to reform our own, as Mr. Mitford has vainly attempted in some instances, would be fruitless; and even if it could succeed, would perhaps not be desirable, because it would render books already printed, in the course of time unintelligible. But the adoption of new characters to express the several

several vowels with their distinctions of long and short, and the repetition of all words in Dictionaries spelt according to their sound by means of a general alphabet, with the omission of useless consonants, would greatly facilitate the pronunciation of different languages, and be attended with little difficulty. For instance, the sounds of *oui* French, *we* English, and *uidh* Gaelic, might all be expressed by the *w* and long *i*, or second dental vowel.

In the ninth section, Mr. Mitford proceeds to consider the articulation of the Greek language. Our only sure guide in this part of the subject is the treatise of Dionysius Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων, which is, however, not quite satisfactory. Mr. Mitford is certainly mistaken in some points. He describes the Greek long ω to be the *a* in *fall*, or the *aw* in *hawk*, which was undoubtedly not the case. It is perhaps the only Greek vowel of which the sound is explained without the least ambiguity, and it is clearly not the English *aw*, but the *a* in *pass*, or the longer sound in *bras* and *padre*. Dionysius says that it is spoken, ἀνοιγομένου στόματος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ τῷ πνεύματος ἄνω φερομένου πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, '*with the mouth opened to its utmost extent, and the breath directed upwards.*' The three dental vowels (the *a*, *e*, *i*, of the English alphabet) are all spoken with the mouth much more extended than our *aw* in *fall*; but the *a* in *pass* and *padre*, is spoken with the greatest possible distension of the jaws, and with the breath directed upwards, which is not the case in articulating *aw*. Mr. Mitford says that η was the English *a* in *male* and *mail*; and thinks that Dionysius has *exactly* described it. This appears doubtful, for Dionysius describes the iota as a dental vowel, but not the η; whereas the *a* in *male* is spoken by applying the tongue to the root of the teeth, and striking the breath against them. His description seems rather to point out the French *eu*, in which case η would have the sound used in the first syllable, and ι in the second of *meurtre*, which last the Danes also give to their short *e*. The confusion which the modern Greeks make between η and υ, in some degree favours this conjecture; on the other hand, the present Athenian pronunciation renders the former most probable. Iota must have been spoken like the English *e*, which is the *i* of other countries, and ω like our long *o*. Dionysius's description of υ certainly appears to point out the French *u*, by the great slenderness which he attributes to it; and perhaps the frequent occurrence of the same sound in Icelandic, where it is expressed by the letter Y, may tend to confirm this notion. The Icelanders have several other peculiarities which were common to the Greeks, such as the aspiration of *r* and *d*. The Icelandic *d* and Greek δ are both pronounced like the slender *th* in *the*, and the simple *d* is not used in either language.

Having dismissed the Greek vowels, Mr. Mitford observes, 'that if

if we have reasonably to complain of any omission of Dionysius, it is, that he has not at all described the diphthongs.' It appears to us, that the treatise contains passages, which throw a pretty clear light upon the pronunciation of Greek diphthongs, and also of the iota subscript, which Mr. Mitford has unaccountably overlooked. Commenting upon a passage from Pindar, in which the word ἐπὶ follows Ὀλύμπιοι, Dionysius observes, that the harmony is interrupted, and a necessary pause occasioned by the collision of the final ι and incipient ε, which never meet in the same syllable. It must be remembered, that the Greeks never use an incipient *y*, the letter ι being always last in their diphthongal combinations. The same observation he makes on Ἀγλαΐᾳ ἴδετε, where he says that the final and incipient ι produce a difficulty (ἀντιτυπίαν) in the pronunciation. Hence, it appears, that the iota subscript, and the final letter of the diphthong were pronounced exactly as that letter would have been spoken in any other situation; and he probably considered that, as he had described the sounds of the several vowels, those of the diphthongs which were formed by their combination, must of course be comprehended. Probably φ had the sound of *owy* in Bowyer, and οι of *oy* in the French *oyer*.

The exact sound, however, which was given to letters by the ancient Greeks, is perhaps a subject of curiosity, but certainly not of indispensable importance in examining their versification: whether φ was spoken like *owy* or *oy* is of little consequence; but it is important not to give a short sound to a long vowel, and a long sound to a short one, which is subversive of their metrical rules. The great errors which Englishmen commit in reading Greek and Latin poetry, whereby they frequently falsify the quantity, arise from the confusion of long and short vowels, produced by the capricious irregularity of their own orthography. It may perhaps be thought extraordinary, that we who dwell (as we have said upon a former occasion) 'in this metropolis of false quantities,' should venture to discuss such topics: but this we must assert, that though the English may bring from their schools more rules of prosody to assist them in composition, their ears are as callous to the faults which they daily commit in reading their own productions, as those of the most unlearned amongst our countrymen. Mr. Mitford has handled this part of his subject well, and to his book we refer the reader; if he perceives not at once the absurdity of giving *cănō* the long sound of *main*; and *vĭrum* that in *fine*, instead of the short sound which is properly expressed in *viridis*; or on the other hand, pronouncing the last syllable of *primīs* with the short *i*. The same observations are applicable to Greek, in which, not only quantity, but accentuation also has been disregarded. We know that it is asserted by some, that Greek accents are to be considered merely as expressive of musical notes.

If

If they mean simply that, in applying Greek words to music, the accents were important, we perfectly agree with them. The accents with which Latin words were and are still spoken; the accents with which Greek were, but are no longer spoken; and those, differing in rules of position from both the former, with which our own words are sounded, must be of the highest importance in applying the poetry of those several languages to music. But we must assert, that if Greek words were to be set to music according to our present mode of pronunciation, the accents marked over them in writing would be wholly unimportant, and the new accents thrown upon the words by the Latin rule, which we have adopted in reading Greek, would be the sole object of consideration. Accent and quantity may both be observed in applying words to music; and undoubtedly, the old composers of Greek music did in some degree attend to both. In the poetry of most modern languages, quantity has been little regarded: orthography in our own is so capricious; the same letter in different words so often used to express different sounds; and consonants so frequently superfluous, that quantity is scarcely distinguishable. The composers of modern music have assumed to themselves, naturally enough, the license of making long syllables short, and short ones long, and of accenting unaccented syllables. To this very circumstance, in his own days, Dionysius alluded, stating, that it was not unusual to force and alter the quantity and accents for the music, instead of adapting the music to them. By this, the musical composer certainly gained an advantage, but the poetry was destroyed. The natural consequence followed; the later Greeks began to disregard quantity, and wrote their στίχοι πολιτικοὶ (which may be translated *popular poetry*) exactly as we do. The σύνοψις ἱστορικὴ of Constantine Manasses is written without any rules of quantity, but the same accentual cadence is preserved throughout the whole. For instance,

Εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποπλεῖ
τὴν πολυφορωτάτην,
Τὴν πόλιν τὴν βασίλειον
ἀποκοσμῆσαι θέλων,

pronounced according to the accents, is nearly similar to the old lines,

'Then into England strait he came,
with fifty good and able,' &c.

We have never seen the laws of the στίχοι πολιτικοὶ explained; and, considering their simplicity, it is very singular that Doctor Foster should have written thus; 'Whether the metre of them be considered as *accentual*, or as common *temporal* metre, it is faulty and corrupt each way; but, on the whole, I do not think it accentual.' We have, however, examined a large part of the σύνοψις, without discovering

discovering any lines that offended against the following simple rules: The verse shall consist of 15 syllables, and shall be divided into hemistichs of 8 and 7. An accent shall invariably fall on the 14th, and no expressed accent, grave, acute, or circumflex, shall fall upon any *odd* syllables, saving the 1st and 9th, in which the aberration is permitted, excepting in the case of monosyllables and acute accents, thrown by an enclitic upon a circumflexed word, which may occupy any of the odd places except the last. This metre is not connected, as some have imagined, with the catalectic iambic, which has not that division, and seldom that cadence; but it is an accentual form of the trochaic, quantity being disregarded. Many such verses will be found amongst the trochaics of Aristophanes and the tragedians. For instance, Εἰτα ξυμαίνειν ἴφασκε· δεινὰ γὰς πεπονθέναι. *Nephel.* It is difficult to ascertain exactly, how and when quantity was first banished: these στίχοι πολιτικοὶ are of the 11th century. Not long after, Tzetzes wrote verses exactly similar; but although they are accented like our poetry, and clearly derive their whole harmony from those accents, he, the same Tzetzes, wrote also strict iambic verse; and though there is no reason, nor shadow of reason, for supposing that he pronounced each individual word differently in the different metres, he expresses his sense of the superior excellence of those, in which temporal rules were observed. By this it appears indisputably, that the Greek words were then pronounced according to their accents; that such pronunciation did not, to a Greek ear, destroy the harmonious cadence of temporal verse; and that the same combination of accents did produce the same metrical effect in that language that it does in ours; and certainly they deserved the same consideration from a composer of music.

But if it be further asserted, that such accents were solely expressive of musical notes, and were not regarded in conversation; or, if they were, that such conversation must have been in recitative: we ask whether those, who hold that opinion, are prepared to say, that a Greek orator, using the word μητροκτονος, would have had no means of expressing whether a man had killed his mother, or been slain by her, without having recourse to musical notes; and, consequently, that such of his audience as were not gifted with good musical ears, might have doubted which was the case? Μητρόκτονος, *slain by his mother*, and μητροκτόνος, *a matricide*, differ only in their accents. These words the English reader pronounces alike, *meetroctonos*; giving the 2d and 4th syllables the sound used in *moss*, and preserving nearly the true short *o* in the 3d. We request our readers to speak the word with the short *o*, as above explained, in all the three last syllables; and, not suffering the long *o*, or short *aw* to intrude themselves, to throw the accent in one case on the second, in the other on the 3d syllable, and

and they will find, that without at all approaching the long sound, (which must be expressed by *meetroke-tone-ose*) they may throw an accent as emphatic as the energy of the cause might require, upon either; and that it would be distinguishable without the least ambiguity, as far as the voice could reach. The same is the case with the English word *revenue*, which some accent on the first, and others on the second; but none, except a few of our countrymen, pronounce it as if the accented syllable had a long *e*, which would be expressed, according to English orthography, by *raivenue* or *revainue*. Let it not be said that the *v* or *n* are doubled; an error not unlikely to arise from our faulty orthography. When a letter is reduplicated, we very rarely pronounce both, which we are convinced the Greeks and Romans did; for they could not have deemed them longer than a mute and liquid, if they had not distinctly sounded both consonants, as the French do in some futures like *je courrais*, and the English in some compound words, like *overrun*; or where a mute *e* intervenes, as in *supineness*, *solely*, &c. For this reason, no Greek or Latin words end with a reduplication. With us, a reduplicated consonant is generally a sign that the preceding vowel is short, and bears the acute, and only one is articulated.

Trissino's Italia, Liberata was printed in 1547 & 48, with Greek vowels, in Italy; this edition may be of great use in explaining the Greek pronunciation, and the difference between accent and quantity, which have been strangely confounded. The Italians have a distinct long and short *o*; the first pronounced like ours, the second as we have above stated. In their verbs, the first person of the present tense ends with the long *o* unaccented, and the third of the past with the short accented: therefore we find very properly the present of *tornere* printed *tornω*, and the past tornò; at the same time *honor* accented on the last is printed *honωr* and *vostro* accented on the first is *vostrω*. We pronounce the Latin *vos*, as if written with *ω*; but the sound in the first syllable of *vostro* is very different from that, and from the short *ow* which Englishmen express in *vostor*. No good speaker of Italian will give the same sound to the accented syllables of the *tornò* and *onor*: like the former is the Greek μωρὸς, and very different from *morôse* or *morôss*. The acute accent certainly does not induce length of time: the more rapidly an Englishman pronounces the contraction *I don't know*, the more strongly does he accent the middle syllable; and in the same manner should the Greek συττόω be articulated. Dr. Foster was not able to divest himself sufficiently of habitual prejudices, to consider this justly; for instance, he said (p. 31.) that in speaking *honestly*, the voice dwelt longer on the first than the second syllable; an assertion, when applied to English pronunciation, directly contrary to fact, and which has arisen from the

the strange confusion that has been made between accent and quantity. In the first of that word, we find the *aw*, as it is used in *hock*; but the most acute accent that can be thrown upon it, will not make it approach the more to the long sound in *hawk*, which is produced by the same motion of the organs of speech, with a longer breathing. The theory of Sheridan was so unintelligible, that it scarcely requires notice. He felt the truth, but old prejudices prevented his fully comprehending it: and therefore, when he found short syllables accented, he said that, in such cases, the accent was on the consonant; forgetting, that coexistence with some vowel, and the conformity to its tone, are the principal clauses in the charter by which consonants hold their place in articulated speech. It has been however disputed, whether, in the English language, the accented syllables are pronounced higher, or only louder, than the others. We are persuaded that, according to the best English articulation, they are spoken in a higher tone; but we are willing to admit (as Mr. Mitford does) that it is possible to speak one syllable louder than the rest, without speaking it higher; and perhaps in some provinces that habit may prevail: but we agree with him, that it would produce an effect very inferior to the melody of good English speech. This, however, we must observe, that, whether spoken higher or louder, a short syllable will still be a short syllable; for length of time has nothing to do with high or low, loud or low. We are not surprised that our learned countryman, Lord Kaimes, should have held that every accented syllable in English was long; for it is the peculiarity of our Scotish dialect rarely to use the acute, but generally to prolong the syllable which the English accent; as it is perhaps the peculiarity of the Irish to speak it in a higher tone than Englishmen. Hence arises much confusion in the discussion of this subject. We readily admit, that the tone which our countrymen generally give to the accented syllable, is incompatible with brevity; it is the proper tone that should be given to the Greek circumflexed vowel; and the circumflex cannot be placed on a short one: and perhaps that heavy circumflex, which invariably adheres to our lowland articulation, may be more unpleasing to a foreigner, than the lighter monotony of the French; but we hold, that speaking the accented syllable higher, as the Irish do, or merely with greater emphasis, as some think the English do, is very different from prolonging it.

Mr. Mitford, who appears to be unacquainted with German, had learned from a sentence in Cesarotti, that an extraordinary hexameter-mania had lately pervaded Germany; and he merely repeats the fact. It is, however, intimately connected with this

this subject, and requires some consideration. Klopstock, whose reputation is perhaps undeservedly great, has prefixed to his Messiah a treatise upon that disgusting abortion which is called the German hexameter. A few extracts, which we translate from the German, will be sufficient to explain the nature of his system.

'The rule of our hexameter is to use the dactyle oftener than the trochee, and that oftener than the spondee. We dare not use the dactyle so often as the Greeks, because the trochee is not so slow as the spondee; and that (as the third foot in this species of poetry) does not occur frequently enough, to counterbalance the numerous dactyles. It must be allowed, that our epic verse has greater variety than the Homeric hexameters. I call them by that name, because Homer's are more beautiful than those of any other poet, Greek, or Roman: but I must apologize for apparent partiality in preferring the rythm of our hexameters.'——'I prefer it for two reasons; 1*st*, Because the dactyle and trochee are very similar, and the spondee has no nearer affinity to the dactyle than any other foot, except the molossus!!!!'——'2*dly*, Because the rythm of our verse, being more various than that of Homer, has a beautiful metrical expression: and I trust that these two reasons will be sufficient to acquit me of partiality. But I will further prove my impartiality by confessing, that one superiority in the Homeric verse is, that the rapidity of the dactyle is better supported in it by spondees, than in our hexameter by trochees. Our poets can, however, lessen that superiority, by exerting themselves not to use the spondee too seldom, which we can get by means of our monosyllables: and also to choose *such trochees as, according to Greek pronunciation, would be spondees.*'

If the German poet has not proved his impartiality, he has at least expressed very novel and curious notions of quantity: but though all this be nonsense as unmixed as ever flowed from the pen of man, it deserves some notice, as having fallen from one of high authority on the Continent, who has had numberless imitators, and has in a manner destroyed all sense of good poetry in Germany. Proceeding to explain himself further, he states that the Germans have words exactly similar to the Greek; as *wérfen*, βαλλειν, *húldigung*, ιερευς, heilighed, δειδιχαι'. This is inaccurate; for no Greek word ending with a long syllable, like *huldigung*, can be accented on the antepenult; if he had taken Latin words indeed, and written *fulminant* and *fulminis*, he would have been right. We, as well as the Germans, have many words spoken according to the Latin rules of accentuation, and, of such, a true hexameter verse might certainly be composed; but if all were so accented, the metre would not suit our languages, because the consonants are so numerous, that our lines must consist entirely of spondees, instead of either trochees or dactyles, which he mentions, mistaking accent for quantity.

But many of our words are accented in a very different manner; *cruelty, nourishment, lebende, todesstreich*, are not accented like *honésta*, and *descéndunt:* and, on that account, the same combination of quantities would not produce the same cadence or combination of accents; and consequently would form a different verse. For these reasons, it is evident, that no series of verses can be written in our languages exactly similar to Latin hexameters. But the species of verse, (if verse it can be called,) which, under the auspices of Klopstock, has overrun Germany, and even invaded Denmark, bears little resemblance to them. The scheme of the German writers is to place an accented syllable where the Romans placed a long one, and an unaccented syllable where they used a short one; as if accent and quantity were similar. In *intremere*, the second is short and accented, the first long and unaccented: in *honesta*, the reverse is the case. But (reply the Germans) we disregard quantity, and our poetry is regulated by accent, as that of the Romans was by quantity. We are willing to admit, for the sake of argument, that quantity has been disregarded in the poetry of modern languages, and that in many instances irregular orthography hath so confused it, that it is not easily distinguished. But how does it follow that accent is similar to quantity, or will produce the same metrical effect? Had not the Romans accent as well as distinct quantities? Do we not know that their words were accented by an invariable rule, and do we not now adhere to that rule in reading Latin? namely, *that if the penult be long, it shall be accented; if it be short, the antepenult shall be accented, whether long or short.* And is it not evident, that, under that invariable law, certain combinations of quantity must produce certain combinations of accent, very different from those which would be made by fixing the accents uniformly in the place of long syllables? For example, we will take a favourite line, which Klopstock has quoted from the Messiah, in his treatise. Though every syllable except the last is long, it is intended for a dactylic hexameter, an accent falling on the first of every three syllables. The same cadence has been used in English and Spanish; and it is, in fact, a verse of the triple accentual cadence, improperly protracted to the length of 17 syllables without a pause. We have no hesitation in asserting, that (waiving all consideration of quantity) a verse so accented could not be admitted in Latin heroic poetry, and we doubt whether it could in Greek. We should look in vain through Virgil for a verse which could answer to it; and *Romæ mœnia terruit impiger Hannibal armis*, attributed to Ennius, is too exceptionable in other respects to serve our purpose: but

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our recollection affords us a modern line, which will exactly correspond with that of Klopstock.

Projicit Ætna latente et anhelus ab igne Vesevus.

Tonender sangen verborgen von huschen medliebender klage.

We believe it will be readily granted that such a verse is inadmissible in Latin heroic poetry; we doubt whether such an arrangement of acute accents will be found in Greek, but have not leisure to ascertain the fact. Two or three lines have been pointed out to us in the Odyssey, where the first syllable of each foot has either an acute or circumflex; but they commence with spondees, and the accentual cadence is also broken by a stop. We do not, however, pretend to give an opinion on this subject, which we have not sufficiently investigated. The first line that will occur to every Greek scholar, is

Αὖτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδὴς,

which we have been taught to read according to Latin accent with that most unpleasant cadence. We beg our readers, who have probably seen a stone bounding down the steepest pitch of a hill, rolling along the slope, and striking at last against some obstacle below, to read that verse according to its real accents; that is, ἔπειτα and πέδονδε like the English word *cruelty*, and the last syllable of ἀναιδὴς like the English *dace;* and they will find a remarkable instance of what has been called imitative harmony. If it be said, that in so reading the verse the quantities are falsified, we must ask whether the following Latin line is false in quantity; which, if the two last words be spoken together, will be similar to it.

Inde rûens per ágros nemorósaque tésqua fugit súa.

Here we must observe, that the opinion, pretty generally received, that Greek hexameters, read according to their accents, would be offensive to an English ear, is erroneous; for lines of a different construction are read by us with the same position of accents, and are not offensive. For instance, ἐξέι χαλκῷ is similar to ακαματον πυρ and ισοθεος φως; νεμεσσητόν βέλεν to τεκε νυμφη and απο νεων; βασιλευσει Ἀχαιῶν to ὀτρυνε σε χρη or ιγνυθι δε σας, and so forth. Ἄναξ, φρονεῖν γὰρ οἱ ταχεῖς ἐκ ἀσφαλεῖς would have the same cadence that we now give to Διδραχ'· ολοιμην ἀν επαιτια με δραν. On the other hand, we should get rid of that peculiarly offensive form of the hexameter, which, if ever, will certainly be rarely found according to Greek accentuation: and it is remarkable, that the jingling cadence, which was banished by the Roman poets, occurs frequently, according to our improper mode of reading Greek, especially where the metre is very dactylic. Such verses as Νειόθι δ' ἄλλοθι γαῖα φερέσβιος ἄσιάτ' ἀνδρῶν in Apollonius Rhodius, or Πολλὰ δ' ἄνατα κάτατα πάρατατάτι δόχμιάτ' ἦλθον in Homer, are actually ludicrous as we read

them; but, spoken according to their accents, they assume a very different character. We do not at present assert that that cadence was absolutely excluded in Greek: it is sufficient for our argument, that at least it occurred rarely, and that the structure of the hexameters did not naturally lead to it: consequently, those who would have transplanted them into another language, should not have sought, but avoided it.

It is impossible, however, to conceive a greater error than that of the Germans, in fancying that their metre admitted greater variety than the verse of Homer. If the Greek hexameter has a fault, it is, that its accentual cadence is perhaps too irregular. It is in general too various to satisfy an English ear, which is accustomed to more regular recurrence of accents, and pays less attention to the quantity of syllables. It was too various to satisfy the Romans; and, on that account, in this, as in other metres which they adopted from the Greeks, they restricted the cadence by certain rules, which we think have never been properly considered. The invariable rule, by which all Latin words were accented, did of itself limit the number of accentual combinations, which certain combinations of quantities could produce: but that was not sufficient. In hexameters the poets of the Augustan age adopted as a general rule, from which they occasionally departed, that the accent should fall on the first syllable of the two last feet, which was matter of indifference to the Greeks. There are, according to our recollection, but three lines in the first Georgic ending like *stérilis dominántur avénæ*, where four unaccented syllables stand together before the two last feet; although the form of *liquefáctaque vólvere sáxa*, similar in quantity, occurs thirteen or fourteen times. We have already said that Virgil never permitted the accents to fall on the first syllable of every foot. When he wished to produce a rapid dactylic verse, he used three accents on short syllables.

Quadrupedante putrem sónitu quátit ungula campum.

In alcaics and asclepiads, the Romans did not suffer three unaccented syllables to fall together, unless comprised in one word; except in the first part of the verse, where an aberration of accent was permitted; as in English we allow, *Spirits odórous breathe*, and *Múrmuring and with him fled*, &c. though, except at the beginning of a verse or sentence, this aberration would be offensive. The Latins permitted this at the commencement of the line, as *Méntem sacerdótum* and *Perrúpit Acherónta;* but in any other part of the verse it could not be suffered. The only instance we recollect is, *Mentémque lymphátam Mareótico;* and there, it is clear, that Horace intended to throw the metre out of its regular form, to express the madness produced by intoxication; as in the second

second ode of the 4th book he altered the usual cadence of the sapphic to express the dithyrambic style of Pindar. It appears to us that the Romans attended very much to accentual cadence. In the third verse of the alcaic stanza, it was a rule, almost invariable, that an accent should fall on the fifth or sixth syllable: only three lines in Horace, ending with a quadrisyllable, offend against it. The fact has been formerly observed, but not the reason. Another peculiarity in this verse has perhaps escaped notice; that the two first feet cannot be separated in two dissyllables, or comprised in a quadrisyllable. The accentual laws of the dimeter and trimeter iambic admit of no exceptions, and are distinct from any rules of cæsura or of dipodia. *Et spissæ némorum cómæ*, is a very common form of the glyconic verse; but *Et spissa móntium cóma*, which bears the same accentual cadence, (that is, the acute on the second, fourth, and seventh,) though a very just dimeter iambic as to quantity, is not a Latin verse, because it bears the cadence peculiar to the glyconic. The iambic foot is however used freely in the third place, and this form must have occurred very often, if it had not been purposely avoided: but there is not one such dimeter iambic in Horace; not one in the Senecas, though indeed they wrote but few; not one in Ausonius, who wrote many, and used them by themselves; not one in Boethius; not one in Prudentius, who wrote upwards of seventeen hundred. One instance, and only one, stood in the oldest editions of Prudentius; *Ornare nænias Numæ:* but although the principal objection to this verse had never been observed, the true reading has been restored in later editions from manuscripts; *Orare simpuvium Numæ:* an ignorant transcriber, who had probably not read the sixth satyre of Juvenal, substituted *nænias* for a word which he did not comprehend. On the other hand, it is worthy observation, that *Inúltus ut flébo púer* is a good cadence in the iambic, but excluded from the glyconic; for instance, *Velóces pér ágros cánes* is not a Latin verse. No such line is to be found in Horace, in Catullus, in the glyconic chorusses of the tragedians, in Boethius, or any ancient writer that we have seen. One only similar to it occurs in Catullus, and in that the cadence is interrupted by a semicolon after the first word, which completely alters the case. In other forms, where the difference of quantity more forcibly struck the ear, the same cadence was permitted in both. The Latin catalectic iambic is governed by the same accentual laws as the Italian verse of eleven syllables; the tenth must always be accented, and either the sixth, or both the fourth and eighth. For instance, the following lines are accurate.

Così diss' élla e lagrimándo tácque. *Trissino.*
Marísque Páüis obstrepéntis úrges. *Horace.*

but, *Diss' ella così e lagrimándo tacque*, and *Marísque vesáne strepéntis*

péntis úrges, would not be metre in either language, on account of the aberration of the accent from the fourth as well as the sixth place. The cadence of the sapphic is the same, when it divides, as usual, after the fifth syllable. It is accented on the sixth, or both fourth and eighth. *Vidimus flavum Tiberim retórtis*, and *Dexterâ sácras jaculátus árces.* When the accents are differently placed, every ear perceives that the verse is less harmonious; and Horace only admits, as an occasional variety, the accent on the fifth and seventh, or the fifth and eighth, which the Italians never use. But as the affection for the cadence above mentioned appears to have increased gradually amongst the Romans, the later poets never admitted those varieties of accent, though they used the dactyle sometimes instead of the spondee in the second foot. There is not one sapphic verse in Statius, the Chorusses, Boethius, or Prudentius, which has not the accent on the sixth, or fourth and eighth. The Latin hendecasyllable is again the same in its most usual form. *Cæsio veniam óbvius leóni*, and *Tenens in grémio mea inquit Acme.* The Italians adoccasionally the accent on the fourth and seventh, which is a form of the hendecasyllable. *Acmen Septimius súos amóres*, and *Ella a coprir la malizia amorósa.* These are the three best forms of the hendecasyllable; but others are used, which the Italians never admit. It is observable, that of the catalectic iambics, in which so little variation is permitted, two were never used together; that the sapphics, in which a little more variety is used, were broken at a longer interval by the adonic; and the hendecasyllables, which admit great variety, were used alone. The Italian verse of twelve syllables, called *sdrucciolo*, is accented like the trimeter iambic ending with a polysyllable. The accents must always fall on the same places as in the catalectic.

Quid nos, quibus te vita sit superstite. *Horace.*
O la, grida con fáccia atra e bisbética. *Barufaldi.*
Utrumne jussi persequémur ótium. *Hor.*
Giunto alla sóglia del Musèo fatídico. *Bar.*

Ut assidens implúmibus pullis avis, in Horace, is an iambic verse, because the 6th is accented; but *Ut assidens pullis avis deplumibus*, though exactly the same as to quantities, would not be a verse, on account of the wrong position of the accents. We are aware, that an objection will here be made, that this regular distribution of accents arises from the division of the line called cæsura; and that if the Greeks use the same laws of cæsura, the arrangement of accents in Latin trimeter iambics, must be incidental. But our doctrine is, that such lines as the Greeks would have admitted, the Romans excluded. Both objected generally to the division of verses into halves, except in particular metres where they required it: but with respect to iambics, this division, though in some cases avoided,

ed, was certainly not absolutely excluded. The Greeks objected more decidedly to the division of an iambic verse into three equal parts by a quadrisyllable in the middle, which Horace has here admitted; but there are several instances in Greek, of the following form, which cannot be used in Latin, on account of the improper situation of the accents: not on account of any law of cæsura; for the verse may be cut into two equal parts, and the third foot may be detached from both second and fourth. *Ut assidens pullis inassuetis avis* is faulty metre; Λίγω σ' ἰγὼ δολῳ Φιλκτήτην λαβεῖν is not. We conceive that the Romans were gratified by the position of the accent on the sixth, or fourth and eighth, and therefore they restricted the laws of the Greek iambic and sapphic to produce this effect; and, as far as we know, the same positions have been observed by every European nation that has written eleven-syllabled accentual verse of the even cadence.

If we have not yet sufficiently proved, that these laws were independent of any rule of cæsura, the examination of the Latin tragedies, which are supposed to have been written by three different authors, but bear the name of Seneca's tragedies, will incontrovertibly establish it. The only rule attended to by the Latin tragedians, respecting the division of words, was, that generally the two middle feet should not be detached from both the second and fifth feet. They admitted great license of quantity, using the tribrach freely for the second and fourth feet; the tribrach, spondee, anapæst, and dactyle, indiscriminately for all the odd feet, and even four short syllables for the first foot: but, in consequence of this license, they found it necessary to limit the accentual cadence more than Horace had done. Therefore, although it excluded forms which he had used with success, they established as an invariable law, that an accent should fall upon the sixth place, which was the keystone of their verse; that is, if the third foot was an iambic, spondee, or anapæst, on the last syllable of it; if a dactyle or tribrach, on the last or middle. The only instance of the contrary, in the ten tragedies, will be found in the Thebais, and the line is evidently corrupt, for the feet all stand distinct. 'Ponitis ferrum ocius Ac dico, et ex æquo mihi dextras datis.' Probably *æquas jam* should be substituted for *ex æquo*. Two other lines, which at first appear to oppose our system, tend to confirm it. *Nescio* in two instances, stands as a dactyle in the third foot: the aberration of accent appearing in no other lines, it must be granted, that this was pronounced *nec scio*, or at least with the same tone as the words had before they coalesced. 'Provolvitur, nec scio quid onerato sinu Gravis unda portat,' is accurate. Yet this law excluded the following terminations, to which no other objection could be made,

and

and not a single instance of them occurs in the tragedies, viz. *persequēmur otium; caprificos erutas; império, amorum dolis*, though *imperi, amorum doli* does occur; *intrépidus, exul, vagus*, though the form of *Scéleribus pœnas luet*, which has the same division of words, and of *quóque prohibetur magis*, which has the same quantities, occur in every page; as well as that of *conjugia despondet sibi*. All monosyllables were considered as accented. We believe, that in long words, where three unaccented syllables preceded the accent, like *consociáre, conditiónibus, inverecúndus*, the Romans admitted a secondary accent, as the Italians have done in words like *smisuratamente*. Prudentius, who strictly observed all the accentual laws, has used *invereçúndus lépor* in the trimeter iambic, which is faulty, unless a secondary accent be admitted. This license is however peculiar to him; he has used it only seven times in upwards of 2000 lines, and we know of no other such instance; his authority will not be deemed sufficient to establish it as an admissible termination. It does not occur in the tragedians.

With respect to the hexameter cæsura, we think that the Greeks and Romans differed materially in consequence of the difference of their accentuation. The form of verse, which most naturally produces the offensive cadence, is the unequal division of a dactyle in the third, without a break after the next long syllable; as, *Suadentque cadentia sidera somnum*. According to Greek accentuation, such distribution of words did not necessarily produce that cadence, and therefore it is frequent in Homer; but in Latin we think it inadmissible, unless the first foot has a short syllable accented, as in *præcipitat*.

From these observations, it appears to us that the metrical rules observed in the south of Europe, were not modern inventions, but the old accentual laws of Latin verse, which survived those of quantity. The Italian short verse of the *canzoni*, is *Lydia dic per omnes* in all its accentual varieties: the Spanish verse of eight feet, used in comedies, is the dimeter iambic or glyconic ending with a dissyllable in all their diversity. The proportion of quantities, by which the lines were connected, being no longer observed, it became necessary to limit the variations of the cadence. In the short lines they could bear all the old variations, except the aberration from the last proper seat; in the longer verses, it was expedient to discard the least pleasing forms: but the hexameter and pentameter were too long to produce a good effect in a language where quantity was disregarded. It remained for later poets to confound accent and quantity, and produce that barbarous hexameter, which Klopstock has brought into vogue again. We know not exactly at what period they were first introduced. The French

French are the only nation we know that speak without any accent, pronouncing their words with a uniformity, that renders their language unfit for poetry; for, as Mr. Mitford observes, where there is no variety, there can be no continued melody. This circumstance, however, rendered it impossible for them to confound accent with quantity; and consequently, when they attempted to use the hexameter of the Latins, they considered the measure of their words. According to Pasquier, the first attempt was made by Etienne Jodelle in 1553. Pasquier himself wrote some lines upon the same plan, which he has inserted in the 7th book of his *Recherches de la France*, with the following observation; 'Or ces vers par moy cy dessus recitez, representent en notre langue les vers Grecs et Latins, dans lesquels on considere la proportion des pieds longs et briefs seulement.' We quote his first four lines, as a specimen of the French hexameter and pentameter.

'Rien ne me plait sinon de te chanter et servir et orner;
Rien ne te plait, mon bien, rien ne te plait que ma mort.
Plus je requiers et plus je me tiens seur d'estre refusé,
Et ce refus pourtant point ne me semble refus.'

He has taken considerable license with respect to the word *et*; *servir* is perhaps a spondee.

Dismissing the hexameter, we will briefly explain what we conceive to be the laws of English accent and versification, which have perhaps never been rightly considered. The accentuation of words exceeding one syllable, can only be learned by habit, on account of its great irregularity. Dr. Johnson has given twenty rules to assist foreigners, but he allows that these have their exceptions. This however is almost invariable, that every word has some one syllable prominently accented; perhaps *into* has not. Monosyllables stand nearly in the same predicament as Greek words accented on the last; which alone, or followed by a pause, bore the acute; but, followed by other words, lost their accent and remained grave, being * spoken with French monotony. There is, however, this difference, that when several English monosyllables occur together, the most important, and those only, bear the acute. If a monosyllabic adjective and substantive are joined, the substantive has the acute, and the adjective the grave, unless the adjective be placed in antithesis, in which case the reverse happens. This law was observed by all our best poets; but Dr. Darwin and other

* The metrical use of the expressed grave in the στίχοι πολιτικοὶ, however, seems to indicate that the oxytons were not spoken with complete monotony, though probably less strongly accented, than when the acute was expressed.

other modern writers have most improperly neglected it, and even affected the reverse. A monosyllabic adjective, however important, cannot have the acute before a substantive accented on the first syllable; and the reason is, that two syllables with the acute cannot fall together, unless so disjoined as to admit a pause between them; for instance, Pope might have been permitted to write, instead of *more safe*, 'Nor is Paul's chúrch *sáfer* than Paúl's church-yárd;' because the voice can pause between the words sufficiently to give the acute to *church;* but he could not have written, *More safe Paul's high steeple than Paul's church-yard*, because the acute could not be given to *high* in that situation. In verses, particularly of the triple cadence, (that is, where the acute falls on every third syllable,) a license has been frequently used of taking off the acute from unimportant dissyllables, and speaking them grave, as if they formed a part of the ensuing word.

Such being the system of accentuation in Teutonic languages, arising necessarily from the number of their important monosyllables, the laws of our heroic and dramatic verse are nearly similar to those of the Italians. *The tenth syllable shall be accented;* but the accent may be occasionally drawn back to the eighth. *The sixth shall be accented, or both fourth and eighth:* the only exception to this rule is, when the second and eighth are accented, and no other accent intervenes. These are the invariable and fundamental rules that regulate our metre: if two accents are frequently thrown together, (which, as we have observed, cannot be done unless the words admit a pause of the voice,) the effect will be unpleasant; but in every other way the metre should be varied as much as possible; for, if the accents always fall on the alternate syllables, it will want melody, to which variety is essential. It is observable, that the Greeks and Romans generally agreed in never throwing back the accent beyond one long and one short syllable; whereas, one of the greatest faults in the English language is the removal of it beyond a long and two short, and sometimes beyond four short syllables, as in differently, necessarily. We quote a few lines from Pope, with the accents and quantities marked.

Pride, envy, malice, against Dryden rose,

In various shapes, of parsons, critics, beaus;

But sense survived when merry jests were past,

For rising merit will buoy up at last.

Might

Mĭght hĕ rĕtûrn ănd blĕss ŏnce mŏre our eyes,

New Blăckmôres ănd new Mĭlbourns would ărise.

Nay, should great Hŏmĕr lĭft hĭs awfŭl head,

Zŏĭlŭs ăgain would stărt ŭp frŏm thĕ dead.

In this passage, the last line is read with some ambiguity, because it is doubtful whether *start* or *up* are most important, and which should take the acute accent. The metre requires it to be thrown on *start;* because if *up*, which is the seventh, takes the acute, both sixth and eighth remain grave, and the metre fails: but in the first line, the sixth syllable is short and unaccented; yet the acute falling on the fourth and eighth in the words *malice* and *D yden*, the metre is perfectly good. Words which never can be accented, like *to*, *the*, *of*, &c. may occupy the sixth place, if the fourth and eighth have the acute; and *vice versâ;* but otherwise not. English verse has however one peculiarity, which serves to increase the dignity of the line, as elisions do in other languages. The difficulty of sounding two acutes together, makes the accents fall generally on alternate syllables, which may be called their proper seats: and the verse is naturally divided into five accentual feet; in any, or all of which, an additional unaccented syllable may be inserted, which shall not be reckoned in scanning the verse; but such syllables should not be inserted between two, which, if separated, would both bear the acute. For instance, the following lines are accurate;

And má|ny an ám|orous, má|ny a húm|orous láy.
The impé|rial én|sign, which|full high advánced.

But we are of opinion, that several verses, even in Pope, are faulty; because, by the improper position of the additional syllable, two accents meet in the same foot, which is improper, and could not otherwise happen without an intervening pause.

Heaven's whóle | foundá|tions to their cén|tre nód.

We are aware, that the word *heaven* has been very universally used as a monosyllable; a practice against which we protest, because *v* cannot be spoken with a final liquid, as in *heaven*, *devil*, &c. without the intervention of a vowel, however short. The same is the case with the word *prism*, which Dr. Darwin has on the other hand improperly used as a dissyllable in the latter part of a verse. We think that a middle course should be steered. Dionysius has properly explained, that amongst long syllables, some are longer than others, amongst short ones some shorter, on account of the nature of the vowel and the number of consonants:

sonants; and it appears to us, that such final syllables are of the shortest species, and that they have not sufficient strength to support the half of an accentual foot, unless, perhaps, near the beginning of a verse; and therefore, they should always be used as superfluous syllables, but not so placed as to throw two accents in the same foot. *All heáven's foundátions* would be good metre, because the adjective remains grave before its accented substantive. The following line from Milton, though at first sight it may appear similar, is in fact very different.

Fállen | Chérub, | to be weák | is mís|erable.

It divides like.

Irre|cóver|ably dárk, | tótal | eclípse,

in which there is an aberration of the accent from its proper seat in every foot, except the third and the last; but Pope's line cannot be so scanned, because in that case, there would be an aberration in the second and third foot, which is not permissable. It must be observed, that in verse of the triple cadence, *heaven* and *prism* should be always used like other dissyllables; because although the triple is allowed to mix with the even cadence, no cadence can be used beyond the triple; and three unaccented syllables with one accented, cannot be used as an accentual foot: on which account, no additional syllables or aberration of accent can be permitted in that metre; but in some very long words a secondary accent is employed. This metre, having been frequently used for ludicrous subjects, has been written carelessly: its construction, however, requires great attention; for if the license of making dissyllables grave be used injudiciously, or the accent thrown on an unimportant, and, taken off an important monosyllable, the verse will claudicate. When two accented syllables met, the Romans appear to have used the same optional liberty, that is taken in the Teutonic languages, where monosyllables abound: they frequently threw the essential accent on a monosyllable, in which case, the syllable following must have remained grave; as in *pér mare et térras fúgit.*

Thus much with respect to the accentual laws of English verse: but we further assert, that there is a clear difference between accent and quantity in the English language; and that, independent of accent, quantity neither is, nor ought to be entirely disregarded in our versification. Every ear accustomed to Latin sapphics, would observe the peculiar structure of the following lines, and object to them in English blank verse; yet are they in every respect such as frequently occur, excepting that the words all follow the Latin rule of accentuation, and that the arrangement of quantities as well as accents, corresponds with that in a sapphic stanza.

ō líquid stréamlĕts tŏ thĕ máin rĕtúrning;

Múrmŭring wáters, thăt adówn thĕ móuntain

Rúsh ŭnŏbstrúctĕd; nĕvĕr ĭn thĕ ócean

Hópe tŏ bĕ trănquil!

A good writer (though he might use the same combination of accents) would naturally shun such coincidence of temporal metre; not as being inharmonious, but as bearing a peculiar character, which should be avoided in English blank verse. It will appear by the following lines, which have the very same accentuation, and the same cæsura, that a difference of quantities will destroy the resemblance to Latin sapphics.

The héadlong tórrent from its nátive cáverns
Búrsting resístless, with destrúctive fúry
Roárs through the válley, wásting with its déluge
Fórests and hámlets.

The reason that our verse requires no established laws of quantity, is, that a great majority of vowels in our words are long by nature or position; many of our lines are spondaic; most have 7, 8, or 9, long syllables; and consequently variety of quantity is rather to be sought for than restricted. In Greek and Latin, rules were necessary to prevent many short syllables falling together: in modern languages they are so rare, that the judgment of the poet may be trusted; but if he uses the license unskilfully, his lines will be weak. In the Henriade, 'Quĭ rassĕmblĕ sous lui lă cŭrĭŏsĭte,' is a miserable verse on account of the concurrence of five short syllables near the end; but many such are not likely to occur.

The mechanism of French verse, which Mr. Mitford declares himself unable to comprehend, appears to us very simple. Except an occasional circumflex, the French do not use accent, and consequently it has no share in their versification; on which account, their poetry affords little gratification to other European nations. A Spanish writer, who seems to have been endowed with good taste and judgment, says, that its monotony can only please '*oidos mas que Batavos.*' This monotony prevents their using verse of many syllables; their alexandrine must be divided in the middle, with the same pause that we require at the end of an heroic verse, (where we should be dissatisfied with an adjective, whose substantive commenced the next line,) and of course it must be considered as two verses. Long syllables prevail in French as well as English; and therefore, it was deemed sufficient

sufficient to regulate the quantity of the most important in each hemistich, which must be always long; and the art of their versification consists in preserving a sufficient pause in the middle, and avoiding a frequent concurrence of short syllables. The monotony of their language renders it necessary for them to pay considerable attention to their rhymes, which must be alternately single and double; and if the lines end with long vowels, the preceding consonants must correspond. The mute e after a long vowel is considered as a syllable in the rhyme; but in every other situation it must be elided by a word commencing with a vowel, which is not necessary when it follows a consonant. The French have no final short syllables without the vowel *e*, which is the short *eu*. Mr. Mitford has asserted, (p. 285, & 6.) that there is no regular disposition of either quantities or accents in French verse: if he will examine the sixth syllable of each hemistich, he will find it as invariably long as the 13th of the line is short. Nor is it singular that such regulations should give a peculiar character very different from that of prose: the Italians and Spaniards can produce excellent metre of 7 or 8 syllables by one invariable accent. Martelli attempted to write dramatic verse in imitation of the French, by doubling the Italian line of 7 syllables.

'Non tanto il sol s' allégra | in questi nuovi albóri
Al garrir degli augélli | al ridere de' fióri,
Quant' io gioisco, o figlia, | nel ritrovasti in viso
Con la solita páce | quel solito sorríso.'

The difference of male and female verse is made by elision in the middle. This metre was not, however, imported from France, as some Italian writers have imagined. Tiraboschi quotes from a Milanese poet of the 13th century, the following uncouth lines.

Fra Bon Vexin da Riva | che sta in Borgo Legniáno
D'le cortesie da déscho | ne disette primáno, &c.

Mr. Mitford, however versed in other languages, appears to be unacquainted with the Oriental and Celtic; but he has thought it expedient to write a short chapter on Oriental and Celtic versification. Having only to state upon this subject, that he *understands the mechanism of their verse is accentual*, it was necessary to fill the chapter with other matter; and we find in it extraordinary and unsupported assertions on a very intricate subject, which is not necessarily connected with that of Mr. Mitford's work,—namely, the origin and affinities of different languages. This is a point which perhaps can never be decided; but it is certain that it can only be illustrated by an intimate acquaintance with those several tongues, and with the earliest records and traditional history of the people who used them. Mr. Mitford, however, who appears to have

have learned no Oriental, no Celtic, no Sclavonic language, nor (as far as we can collect from his book) German, or any northern tongue, disposes of every dialect between the capital of the Great Mogul and the Atlantic, in the most brief and authoritative manner, by dividing them into two families. (p. 346) He appears never to have heard of the Hungarian and Lappish, which are reckoned very distinct from other European languages. On their similarity a curious work has been published in Sweden by Sajnowic. We also recommend to the learned author the perusal of a short treatise, translated from the French by Mr. Tooke, and augmented with his own observations, on the affinity of Latin and Sclavonic; tending to prove, not that Greek and Sclavonic were closely allied, as Mr. Mitford has assumed, but that Latin arose from a mixture of the two. Perhaps it may be truly asserted, that all languages have some points of affinity; and he might as well have united his two branches; for the Greek has perhaps more connexion with the Celtic than the Teutonic tongues; and he himself appears to insinuate, that the Welsh harp was of Greek extraction. To the distinction made between Welsh music and the Scotish airs, which he says were begotten on the bleak Highlands by the bagpipe, and consequently admitted no change of key, we must take three exceptions; that some Scotch airs have a change of key; that the bagpipe may be played in a major and minor key, and admits the same extent as the hautboy; and that the harp was more ancient in the Highlands than the bagpipe. It was perhaps used by all Celtic nations. With respect to Gaelic verse, it is certainly accentual; but the recurrence of accents is much more irregular than in English metre, having been regulated by the music to which it was adapted; and its rhyme consists of similar accented vowels without regarding the consonants. Mr. Mitford only mentions Icelandic poetry, to express his disbelief of the variety of metres to which Wormius has alluded; and he says, that 'it is only for the notice with which such critics as Mr. Ellis and the Bishop of Dromore have honoured it, that I can have any respect for Wormius's discovery of 136 Icelandic measures.' Mr. Ellis appears to have used the word *discovered* inadvertently. The expression in Wormius is, 'Rythmorum infinita ferè sunt genera; vulgo tamen usitatiorum centum triginta sex esse putantur.' He explains one sort of Icelandic metre, and gives the following Latin words, as an example of it.

*Chri*S*Tus Caput no*S*Trum*
*Cor*ON*et te b*ON*is.*

The commencement of Harold's song in Knytlinga saga, will show that he was not inaccurate.

Snei

SnciD *fyrer* Sikilcy viDa
SUD; *varum tha* prVDir.

We choose two specimens from the various Icelandic metres we have met with, which will serve to show, that, by various length of lines, cæsuras, alliterations, final rhymes, corresponding letters in the middle of words, and disposition of verses in stanza, 136 varieties might be easily produced. The Icelanders frequently used different metres in the same poem. § marks the cæsura.

Lvdvrinn prvdvr § Liel so hatt,
Leitar sveit ad hefna bratt.
Gilldum hilldar § Grymur serk,
Gramvr er tamvr a snilldaverk.—*Karl of Grymur.*

And in the same poem,

Harek tekur ad § Hilia thiod med § Hordu stale,
Hialmar, bryniur, § Hrumners male,
Hilldar skye, og Golnirs bale.

We trust that these instances will remove all scepticism on this subject.

Mr. Mitford has devoted a chapter to a project for increasing the *euphony* of the English language, which might perhaps have been well omitted. It is certainly capable of improvement; but such projects must always be deemed chimerical. It has been said of many countries, (particularly Portugal), that their language would be excellent, if the people knew how to pronounce it; and perhaps Portuguese euphony might be greatly increased by referring their rules of pronunciation to a committee of foreigners; but we do not think the natives of Lisbon would unite in a vote of thanks on the production of their report.

Before we conclude this article, we will briefly give the sum of our arguments concerning the nature of Greek and Latin accents, which, we are persuaded, those who are most bigoted to a contrary system, will not easily answer to their own satisfaction. We find, that in English, Italian, and other languages, the regular disposition of prominent syllables in certain places constitutes metre: we find that, in Latin verse of the same length, the syllables, which bore the acute accent, generally fell in the same places; and that in some metres they were invariably fixed there: we find, that where greater liberties of quantity were admitted in the iambic, that the acute accent was never permitted to wander from the sixth seat; and that several forms of verse (to which no other objection whatsoever could be made) were abandoned, to preserve uniformly that situation of the acute accent: and we also know, that, in modern verse, we can permit an irregular disposition of all the prominent syllables, except the last, if

if that sixth place be filled by one. Further, we know that the Greek and Latin acute accents were precisely similar to each other; that they were described in the same manner; and that no natural difference was stated to have at any period existed between them. We find that the Greeks wrote verses of a certain length, which had no regularity but the disposition of accents in the very places which, in our verse, are the natural seats of our prominent syllables. From these premises, we draw this conclusion, that the accented syllables of the Greeks and Romans did produce the same metrical effect that the prominent syllables (which have always been called accented) in modern languages do produce; and we know that the modern Greeks pronounce them in the same manner. Mr. Primatt displayed much learning in his treatise on the subject of Greek accents; but he was afraid of handling his own weapons; and, directing his attacks against prose only, suffered himself to be defeated by poetry. The best work on the subject appeared in 1796, and has been attributed to a learned prelate; but however skilfully he wielded the exterminating sword against Latin accentuation in the Greek language, it fell from his hand at the close of all his labour; and subscribing, through needless timidity, to a theory supported by no evidence, he suffered the spectres of Latin accents to rise again, and post themselves on the last feet of hexameters.

We have thus attempted to solve that gordian knot of accent and quantity, which seems to have bound the understandings of many learned men; and, as it is very difficult to express by written definitions, the varieties of sound, in labouring to render ourselves distinctly intelligible, we are aware that we may have appeared prolix and tedious.

Having trespassed perhaps too long on the attention of our readers, by the discussion of this wide and intricate subject; opposing some statements in which we thought Mr. Mitford mistaken; illustrating others which may not have been placed in the proper light; and adducing new matter which to us appeared important; we are under the necessity of dismissing many parts of his learned work, without commenting to them, or giving them the particular praise which they deserve. We regret, however, that Mr. Mitford's observations are communicated to the public with so little ornament of diction. Sentences like the following are inferior to the style of polite conversation.

'Aware of the hazard of criticizing language, but especially a foreign language, the risk of oneself mistaking, and the risk of failing to make oneself understood by others, for explanation of the hypothesis ventured, in the first article of the fifteenth section, concerning the loss

of accent in the French language, I desire to refer to example within the English language.' p. 431. And shortly after, 'The difficulties of the passage, for turning into French,' &c.

We are far from requiring high-wrought expression, bold imagery, or sonorous periods, in a work of this nature; but we think that he, who proposes schemes for improving the euphony of the English language, would be heard with more deference, if he were studious of writing that language, as it now exists, with propriety and elegance. The work has, however, intrinsic merit, which will compensate the faults of style; and we think it our duty to recommend it to the attention of all who take any interest in such speculations.

ART. XI. *Principi di Statici per i Tetti, per i Ponti, e per le Volti.* Di Paolo de Langes.

From Memorie de Mat. e Fis. de la Societa Italiana. 1803. Vol. X. Part I. p. 183.

IT was remarked by an eminent mathematician, that while we give ourselves infinite trouble to pursue investigations relating to the motions and masses of bodies which move at immeasurable distances from our planet, we have never thought of determining the forces necessary to prevent the roofs of our houses from falling on our heads. To accomplish this investigation, various methods have been employed since his time; and the author of the very elegant tract now before us begins by describing two of these, and showing their defects.

The first was that of the ordinary composition and resolution of forces. By very easy steps, this method leads us to an equation between the sine and cosine of a given angle of inclination and the pressure exerted by a beam resting diagonally between two given planes. If φ is the angle of its inclination to the horizontal plane, $a =$ its length, $b =$ the distance of its centre of gravity from the upper extremity, and $P =$ its whole weight, then the force of the other extremity in an horizontal direction is equal to $\frac{P\,(a-b)\cos.\varphi}{a \sin.\varphi}$. There were other values of this force deduced from different principles. It was given either as $\left(\frac{P}{a}(a-b)\sin.\varphi.\cos.\varphi\right)$, or as $(P \sin.\varphi.\cos.\varphi.)$

Upon these results, our author observes, that when the beam is horizontal, the first formula gives *infinity* for the value of its horizontal force; and when the beam is vertical, we have, by the same

same solution, nothing for the value of the horizontal force. But the other two formulas, he adds, give *nothing* for the value of that force in both these cases; and one of them gives the solution independent of the position of the centre of gravity. This mode of solving the problem takes into view, as it ought to do, the distance of the centre of gravity from the extremity of the diagonal beam, and is such as to give the value of the horizontal pressure equal to nothing in each of the extreme cases, both when the beam is placed at right angles to the horizontal plane, and when it coincides with that plane.

The form of the question here alluded to, is the simplest case of this problem. It is the only case, as we shall afterwards see, which our author discusses; but it is certainly the most general and fundamental, as well as the easiest to be investigated. It is treated with great neatness and elegance, and with geometrical rigour, in this paper, which we recommend as an excellent introduction to the great subject of arches.

The first case of the problem in question is thus enunciated. Two planes being given at right angles to each other, and a rod or beam of any shape, but of a given weight and length, being placed between the planes at any inclination, it is required to find the pressure exerted by the inferior extremity of the beam in an horizontal direction. Of this problem, our author gives a geometrical solution of great elegance by means of the ellipse, to having previously demonstrated the following property of that curve; that if from a point in its transverse axis, a straight line be inclined so that the curve and the point intercept a portion equal to half the conjugate, the portion intercepted between the conjugate and the curve is equal to the semitransverse. He then adds an analytical solution of the problem. If φ is the angle of the beam's inclination to the horizon P, its weight, m and n the two portions of its length on each side of its centre of gravity, then the horizontal pressure of the lower extremity is equal to $P\left(\frac{m\,n \sin.\varphi.\cos.\varphi}{m^2 \sin.^2\varphi + n^2 \cos.^2\varphi}\right)$; an expression certainly of very great neatness and symmetry, and which is found to agree exactly with solutions of less general cases drawn from other methods. He adds two investigations to discover the position of the beam's centre of gravity which gives the greatest possible pressure at a given angle of inclination, and to discover the angle of inclination which gives the same *maximum* at a given position of the beam's centre of gravity. The ordinary method of *maxima* and *minima*, applied to the above formula, gives, for the first case, an expression from whence we may deduce the following simple solution—that the distance between the centre and the vertical plane must be a

fourth, proportional to the length of the beam, the cosine of its inclination, and the sum of the sine and cosine of inclination. For the solution of the second case, let a = the beam's length, and b = its given superior segment, the height of the superior extremity above the horizontal plane must be $a\sqrt{\frac{(a-b)^3}{(a-b)^3+b^3(a-b)}}$, in order that the pressure may be the greatest possible. This expression, translated into geometrical language (as we translated the former,) shows that the square of the height must be a fourth proportional to the square of the beam's length, the cube of its inferior segment, and the sum of that cube, and the parallelopiped, whose base is the square of the superior segment, and altitude the inferior segment. From these proportions, it is easy to conclude, that if the beam is inclined at an angle of 45°, the horizontal pressure is a *maximum* when the centre of gravity falls in the middle of the beam and conversely.

Having considered the simple case, of one beam pressing on two planes at right angles to each other, our author proceeds to consider, how his results are modified by the combination of different beams, which, it may be remarked, is the ordinary case in practice. He shows, by considerations which must immediately present themselves to those who attend to the foregoing analysis, that when two equal beams lean against each other, they are exactly to each other as to the verticle plane in the cases above solved. In like manner, the solution of the case in which three beams are connected together, the one line lying over the other horizontally, is reduced to a variety of the first case; and when four beams are combined, two meeting on a point above, and resting upon the other two, inclined at any acute angle to the horizon, he shows that when the two latter are attached by a chain passing horizontally across the interval, the case is reducible to the original and general problem, being a variety of the last hypothesis. But when four beams are thus combined, and no connexion is made between the two inferior ones at their upper extremities, the solution of the problem becomes much more intricate. This will be apparent if we consider that all the former solutions depend upon the discovered nature of the trajectory, which the centre of gravity of the beam describes, when it descends freely in the angle of two planes verticle to each other. This is well known to be an elliptical arch; and consequently, the solution of the problem is effected by the application of that curve's obvious properties. But in the case of four beams, the two highest of which meet and rest on the two lowest with their other extremeties, several curves must be discovered, in which the centres

centres of gravity of each pair of beams and the junc ture of the two severally move. One curve must be found for the trajectory of the centres of the two upper beams, another for the trajectory of the centres of the lower beams, and a third for the trajectory of the mutual joinings of the two beams on each side. Our author has not thought proper to make any attempt to discover these three curves; but he limits the problem in different ways in order to simplify it, and to facilitate an approximation to the solution. He first supposes the lower beam to be stopped on the horizontal plane, by an obstacle at a given point; then it is clear that its centre of gravity gyrates in a circle, whose radius is given. Still the trajectory of the upper beam's centre remains to be found: he supposes it to be elliptical, which it is nearly, when the angle of the upper beam's inclination to the horizon is very small. This case, therefore, is resolved into the cases formerly investigated. He then takes the case of the lower beam standing fixed in the perpendicular; and in this hypothesis, also, the centre of the upper beam gyrates in an elliptical arch when the angle of its horizontal inclination is small. These are obviously the simplest cases; the latter is that of a roof supported by two pillars or pilastres, but very flat, and of the kind known by the name of '*Tetti alla Mansarda.*' Such roofs are by far the most elegant; they are universally employed all over Italy, both for the coverings of useful and of ornamental buildings. They are the roofs found in all ancient temples, and other structures of the Greek and Roman ages. But they are obviously adapted only to a climate where little or no snow falls. In the northern countries of Europe, the roofs assume a very different appearance: they are built very nearly in the vertical line: instead of two beams resting on the upright pillars or walls as small horizontal angles, we there find four, six, and eight beams, joined, or little separated at the top, and inclined to one another and to the columns or walls, in directions which deviate but little from the perpendicular. To such cases, the solution, or rather the rough approximation of the Italian mathematician, does not at all apply; and as such cases were evidently within the scope of his general question, and presented themselves to his observation in the course of his investigations, it may be thought that he was bound to furnish a solution of them. Instead of this, he does not even state how their examination is to be carried on. He contents himself with remarking, that they are extremely intricate; and immediately leaves the subject. We shall offer a few strictures upon those cases, and point out the general method of resolving them.

Our author has certainly been too easily alarmed by the appearance

pearance of their difficulties at a distance, and by not attending to the steps which lead to the introduction of the elliptical trajectory, in the branches preliminary to his own investigations of the simple cases. He seems to have thought that the ellipse was discovered to be the trajectory of the beam's centre of gravity, when it moves in the angle of two perpendiculars, in consequence of some property peculiar to the centre of gravity. On the contrary, this is a proposition derived from the investigation of a very general problem of inclinations. If it is required to incline a given straight line in a given angle, so that another straight line given in position, shall cut the line given in magnitude in a given point; we know that this problem can be solved by the ancient geometrical analysis. But when there is no straight line given in position, the problem becomes indeterminate or local; and the given point in the straight line given in magnitude, is always in an ellipse which may be found. Let $a =$ the length of the given line, $b =$ its superior segment, consequently $a - b =$ its other part, $y =$ the perpendicular drawn from the given point to one of the given lines, and $x =$ the perpendicular drawn from the same point to the other line. By similar triangles, we have $b : a - b :: x$ to the segment intercepted between the perpendicular y, and the line to be inclined. This segment is therefore equal to $\frac{x}{b}(a - b)$; and (by the property of the right-angled triangle) $(a-b)^2 = \frac{x^2}{b^2}(a-b)^2 + y^2$, or $y^2 = \frac{(a-b)^2}{b^2} \times (b^2 - x^2)$, an equation to the ellipse, whose transverse axis is equal to twice $(a - b)$, and whose conjugate axis is equal to twice b. Which is the very proposition, including the lemma, by whose assistance the author's solutions are accomplished. And therefore it is evident that this method of solving the problem depends on no property of the beam's centre of gravity, but solely on the datum of any point in the length of the beam.

We shall now suppose that it is required to find the pressure of the slanting sides of the roof of a temple, supported by upright pillars or pilastres. The problem is reduced to this. To find the curve line in which the centre of gravity of one of the slanting beams moves, while its lower extremity gyrates with the pillar's upper end in a circle, and the upper extremity moves along a vertical plane; or, which is the same thing, to find the locus of a given point in a straight line given in magnitude, one end of which is carried along a straight line given in position, and the other along the circumference of a given circle. This is one of the cases supposed by our author to be of too intricate a nature to justify

justify him in attempting its investigation. To us it does by no means appear of so inaccessible a nature.

Let b, and $(a-b)$, be the segments of the given straight line as before, r = the under beam or pillar, that is, the radius of the given circle, m = its distance, when vertical from the vertical line given in position, y = the perpendicular drawn from the given point in the moving line to the tangent of the circle, which is perpendicular to the given vertical line, x = the portion of that tangent which y and the given vertical intercept. Then, by similar triangles, we have $b : a-b :: x$ to the part of the tangent intercepted between y, and a perpendicular drawn from the intersection of the given circle and the moving line. This portion is therefore equal to $\frac{x}{b}(a-b)$; and the portion intercepted between the point of contact and the last mentioned perpendicular is equal to $x-m+\frac{x}{b}(a-b)$. But by the property of the circle, the square of this portion is equal to the difference between the squares of the radius, and of a portion of the diameter intercepted between the centre and the vertical cord, equal to twice the above portion of the tangent. Therefore this portion is equal to $\sqrt{r^2-\left(x-m+\frac{x}{b}(a-b)\right)^2}$; and the perpendicular drawn from the moving point to the above vertical code, is equal to $y+r-\sqrt{r^2-\left(x-m+\frac{x}{b}(a-b)\right)^2}$, the square of which quantity (by the property of right-angled triangles) is equal to the difference between the squares of the segment $(a-b)$ of the given line, and the intercepted portion of the tangent $x-m+\frac{x}{b}(a-b)$. We obtain therefore the following equation between x and y.

$$(a-b)^2=\left(x-m+\frac{x}{b}(a-b)\right)^2+$$

$$\left(y+r-\sqrt{r^2-\left(x-m+\frac{x}{b}(a-b)\right)^2}\right)^2;$$

$$\text{or } y=\sqrt{(a-b)^2-\left(x-m+\frac{x}{b}(a-b)\right)^2}$$

$$-r+\sqrt{r^2-\left(x-m+\frac{x}{b}(a-b)\right)^2};$$

$$\text{or, finally, } by=+\sqrt{b^2(a-b)^2+(bm-ax)^2}$$

$$+\sqrt{b^2r^2+(bm-ax)^2}-br.$$

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This curve has one singular circumstance attending its connexion with the problem in question. In the general, it is a curve of the fourth order. But in the particular case of the inferior beam or pillar being equal to one of the upper beam's segments, it becomes a conic section; for then we have $r = a - b$; and the equation becomes $by = 2\sqrt{b^2r^2 + bm - ax)^2} - br$; a common quadratic equation, denoting an hyperbola, which may be easily constructed. The above solution, however, is general for all cases, and gives the method of calculating the horizontal pressure, whenever the beams rest freely upon vertical supports, that is, upon pillars fixed at their bases, but turning freely round them. By similar means, we may obtain solutions of the other cases, the problem being always reducible to the method of inclinations. And when the curve in which the extremity of the pillar or inferior beam moves is algebraical, the curve in which the centre of the upper beam moves is likewise algebraical: when the former is transcendental, the latter is so too. The same kind of solution may be extended still farther. For if, instead of a pillar or beam, we substitute a wheel or roller, (and this is a case of frequent occurrence in practice) the point in which the upper beam meets this rest, moves in a cycloid; and we may, by working as above, easily obtain the line in which the centre of gravity of the upper beam moves. If we mistake not, this trajectory is in such a case another cycloid, the evolute of the former. But we shall not enlarge farther upon this subject. Enough has been said to prove how unnecessary the author's apprehensions were of the difficulties in which the inquiry would involve him. We must however add, before quitting this part of the subject, that he seems to have been guilty of an oversight in one of his limitations. He supposes the lower beam to be stopped by an obstacle, in order to simplify the investigation, by taking away the calculation that relates to this lower beam's horizontal pressure. Now, the very object of the inquiry is to find the strength or power of this obstacle: for, to say that it stops the horizontal movement of the beam, is exactly saying that a force has been found equal and opposite to the beam's horizontal pressure. What renders such an assumption the more exceptionable is, that in all practical cases the obstacle is the very point in view. It is the aim of our calculations.

The memoir now before us began with remarks upon the inefficacy of the ordinary doctrines of dynamics to solve the statical problem under consideration. It concludes with farther illustrations of the same topic. He deduces, from the formulas obtained by his own method, a value of f, that is, the weight required to counteract

counteract the horizontal pressure, by being attached to a cord which passes over a pulley, and is fixed to the lower end of the beam. He takes, of course, the simple case of a beam between two planes at right angles to each other, this being in fact the only one which he has resolved. According to his method, then, putting $a =$ the length of the beam, $b =$ its upper segment, $P =$ its weight, and $x =$ the horizontal line drawn from its centre to the vertical plane, we have $\int = \frac{P\ (a-b)\ b\ x\ \sqrt{b^2 - x^2}}{b^2\ (b^2 - x^2) + x^2\ (a - b^2)}$. This is easily deduced from the analysis formerly described by the differential calculus, and then exterminating the fluxionary expressions. From the common method of composition and resolution of forces results the equation $\int = \frac{P\ x\ (a-b)}{a\sqrt{b^2 - x^2}}$. And our author infers from thence, that this method is quite inadequate to the general solution of the problem. The first mentioned formula being obtained from the theory of *vires viva*, or actions, as he terms it, only by his method of operating, he extends his inference to that mode of solution also.

Now we propose to demonstrate, that these results, so far from being at variance with each other, lead us, when compared together, to a very happy illustration of the whole solution. In order to show this, put the two values of $\int$ above deduced equal to each other, and we have the equation $\frac{P\ (a-b)\ x}{a\sqrt{b^2 - x^2}} = \frac{P\ (a-b)\ b\ x\ \sqrt{b^2 - x^2}}{b^2\ (b^2 - x^2) + x^2\ (a-b)^2}$; or, $b^2\ (b^2 - x^2) + x^2\ (a-b)^2 = a\,b\,(b^2 - x^2)$; and, extending this equation, we get $b^4 + a^2\,x^2 - a\,b\,x^2 = a\,b^3$; or, $a\,b^3 - b^4 = a\,x^2\,(a-b)$; and both sides being divisible by $(a-b)$, we have $b = \sqrt[3]{a\,x^2}$. Therefore we find that, according to the union of the above results, the beam is in equilibrio, when pressing against the horizontal plane, provided the centre of gravity is in such a point of it, that one of its segments is the first of two mean proportionals between its whole length and the horizontal distance of the centre from the vertical plane. Is this proposition true upon other principles? Our readers may find, by turning to our review of Signor Fontana's paper, that this is the very solution given of a different problem, both by Euler, upon the theory of *minima*, and by Fontana, upon the application of the arithmetic of sines to the ordinary principles of statics. Both these mathematicians have proved, that a rod or beam pressed by any force against a plane, remains in equilibrio upon a given fulcrum, when it is so placed that one of its segments

is the first of two mean proportionals between the whole length and the distance of the fulcrum from the plane. The two cases are therefore in this instance exactly the same; and the ordinary calculus founded upon the doctrine of the composition and resolution of forces, instead of leading us into error, as our author rashly supposes, presents, when compared with his own, an elegant confirmation of the whole solution, as well as a proposition regarding this one case, which neither method of itself pointed out. For we find that the pressure P vanishes altogether in the above expression; and we see plainly that there is one method of leaning the beam upon the wall and the ground, so that it shall remain accurately at rest without any counteracting force (f) applied to its extremity, and merely by supporting its centre. If the centre of gravity be only placed at a distance from the verticle plane, equal to the square root of the fraction whose numerator is the cube of the beam's superior segment, and whose nominator is the whole beam, then the beam will be in equilibrio, without the help of friction, provided its centre be supported.

These consequences might be prosecuted much farther, and illustrated by a variety of curious physical porisms with which they are intimately connected. We shall, however, here conclude with remarking, that the subject entered upon by our author in the paper now analyzed, deserves a much fuller investigation than he has given it. To entitle his essay 'The principles of statics applied to the construction of roofs, bridges, and vaults,' is certainly eminently ridiculous, when the whole scope of it comprehends only a single case of the elementary doctrines of the first of those subjects. The remainder of these doctrines are only mentioned in the essay, in order to be dismissed as too difficult; and not a word is said of either bridges or vaults. Yet are we far from wishing to undervalue the author's merits. What he really attempts, he executes well. His solutions are strict, clear, and elegant. We only regret that he has chosen to limit his darings; and trust he will soon return to the charge.

ART. XII. *A Northern Summer; or, Travels round the Baltic, through Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and part of Germany, in the year* 1804. By John Carr, Esq. 4to. pp. 492. London, Philips. 1805.

IN estimating the merits of this large volume, it is fair to recollect that the author's pretentions are sufficiently modest. His plan has evidently been to produce a book rather for the amusement

ment than the information of the reader; and he rarely exposes himself to censure or ridicule, unless when he deviates into less humble tracks. His excursion seems to have been rapidly performed, and he has with proportionate haste given a sketch of the objects which forced themselves upon his notice, and of the incidents which occurred to him on the journey. The countries through which his route lay, have, of late years especially, been much frequented, and he has rendered an acceptable service to the travelling portion of the community, by recording a variety of particulars so little interesting to the generality of mankind, that but for the assistance of such writers as Mr. Carr, each traveller's experience would be lost to his successors. In one respect, as contrasted with other authors in the same department of literature, he deserves peculiar praise. He does not aim at supplying his want of interesting matter, or breaking the dulness of his subject, by retailing anecdotes of private characters; and the sentiments which he has an opportunity of introducing, are, for the most part, such as no wise or good man needs be ashamed to acknowledge. He has augmented the stock of books which join entertainment and usefulness, without any injury either to public morals, or to the feelings of individuals.

Such is the general impression which a careful perusal of this book has left of its merits; and we hope it will not be ascribed to a desire of qualifying the praise now bestowed, that we suggest how small the difficulty is of communicating a certain portion of entertainment by the narrative of travelling occurrences, and the description of the most prominent objects in foreign countries. This easy task has been performed by Mr. Carr; and we shall take occasion, as we proceed, to notice the trifling proportion of new information which is to be gleaned from his accounts. It is our duty also to point out the specimens of ignorance and bad taste which sometimes occur in his pages, and to rectify a few errors of more serious importance, into which he seems to have fallen.

Our author sets out with a promise, that he is to 'write from his feelings.' Arriving at Harwich, and visiting the churchyard, he finds the tomb of a Norway ship captain, who died by the bite of a mad dog. This 'draws from' Mr. Carr many lines of *poetry*, and the following, among others.

> 'The fond companion of thy pilgrim feet,
> Who watch'd when thou would'st sleep, and moan'd, if miss'd,
> Until he found his master's face so sweet,
> Impress'd with death the hand he oft had kiss'd.'

It is fortunate that Mr. Carr does not throughout the book adhere to this alarming promise, of 'writing from his feelings.'

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From Husum where he landed, he proceeds through Holstein, and crosses the Belts. As he is extremely fond of quoting, particularly from Shakspeare, the country of Hamlet furnishes him with constant opportunities of indulging this propensity: and indeed if he did not find such occasions, he would make them; for he no sooner observes a man with a red face, than he gives at length Falstaff's speech to Bardolph. One of the most striking peculiarities in the construction of this book, is the discrepancy between the titles or summaries given at the beginning of the chapters, or tops of pages, and the contents themselves. The following passage is called '*Danish character.*'

'The Dane is a good-natured laborious character; he is fond of spirits, but is rarely intoxicated; the severity of the climate naturalizes the attachment, and his deportment in the indulgence of it is inoffensive.' p. 33.

Then follows the title '*Gin,*' which introduces a story of a Dane receiving from a fat landlady a glass of that fluid, and drinking it off 'as if it had been as much cocoa milk;' a sight, one should think, that an inhabitant of London need not have penetrated into Denmark to see. Under the title of a '*merry error,*' we find it recorded, that a young German, upon being stopped at a barrier, jumped up and exclaimed, 'Vat de devil! dus dat little Russ man take us all for *screws?*' meaning *spies.* Mr. Carr's own French furnishes many equally 'merry errors.' We shall only mention his whimsical conversion of the Knight's Hall in Fredericksborg palace into '*Sal de Chevalier.*' (p. 83.) As we are upon the subject of languages, we may here enter our protest against a practice by no means peculiar to this traveller, of giving French names and titles to places and persons as little connected with France as with China. Our own language is surely rich enough to furnish those expressions; and yet we must have Swedes and Germans called *Monsieur,* and the streets of Stockholm named as if they were in Paris. This incorrectness is the more remarkable in Mr. Carr, because he displays a minute attention to such matters upon other occasions. He never mentions an English esquire, without adding that clumsy designation; for example, in the following exclamation—'How opposite was this tribunal to that which Sheridan, in a blaze of eloquence, apostrophized upon the trial of Warren Hastings, Esquire!' (p. 97.)

There is nothing in our author's detached remarks and stories relative to Denmark, which we think worth the trouble either of abridging or extracting. Our readers, we are afraid, would be little amused with an account of Tycho Brahé, 'who was the inventor of a new system of the world,' losing his nose in a quarrel, and making a new one of gold and silver; and we are prevented

prevented from quoting the history of the Dutch hermit, by our unwillingness to incur the necessity of extracting his epitaph translated by the 'distinguished pen of William Hayley, Esquire,' and his farewell by the 'poetic and elegant mind of Leigh Hunt, Esquire.' The following is a fair specimen of Mr. Carr's talent for description. When he confines himself to a plain enumeration of obvious particulars, he is well enough. It is in his fine and feeling humours that he endangers our gravity.

'The first day we dined at Orke Ginga, under the porch of a little cottage: the scenery about us was very desolate and dreary. As we skirted some of the lakes which abound in Sweden, we saw the peasant women half-knee deep in water, washing their linen: they looked hardy and happy. The architect must ever be governed by nature in the size, shape and materials of his building. Sweden is one continued rock of granite, covered with fir: hence the cottages, which are only one story high, and many of the superior houses, are constructed of wood, the planks of which are let into each other in a layer of moss, and the outside is painted of a red colour: the roof is formed with the bark of the birch, and covered with turf, which generally presents a bed of grass, sufficiently high for the scythe of the mower. The floors of the rooms are strewed with the slips of young fir, which give them the appearance of litter and disorder; and the smell is far from being pleasant. Nothing can be more dreary than winding through the forests which every now and then present to the weary eye little patches of cleared ground, where firs had been felled by fire, the stumps of which to a considerable height were left in the ground, and at the distance resembled so many large stones. Inexhaustible abundance of wood induces the peasant to think it labour lost to root them up: and they remain to augment the general dreariness of the scenery.

'The population in both the provinces of Scania and Smaland, is very thinly diffused; except in the very few towns between Flensborg and Stockholm, the abode of man but rarely refreshes the eye of the weary traveller. At dawn of day, and all day long, he moves in a forest, and at night he sleeps in one. The only birds we saw were woodpeckers. The peasantry are poorly housed and clad; yet amidst such discouraging appearances, their cheek boasts the bloom of health, and the smile of content. Their clothes and stockings are generally of light cloth; their hats raised in the crown, pointed at top, with a large broad rim; and round their waist they frequently wear a leathern girdle, to which are fastened two knives in a leather case. The country, in these provinces, appear to be very sterile; only small portions of its rocky surface were covered with a sprinkling of vegetable mould.

'One day, wearied by the eternal repetition of firs, we were, without the least preparation, suddenly enlivened by the sounds of a military band; and an abrupt opening in the forest, displayed, as by enchantment, an encampment of a fine regiment of the Lindkoping, or as it

is

is pronounced, Lindchipping infantry: their uniform, which is national, is blue, faced with yellow. The instantaneous transition from the silence and gloom of woods, to the gaiety and bustle of the camp, was very pleasing.' p. 109. *et seqq.*

We do not always escape so well from a fine scene. The course of our author's journey having brought him near a neat cottage in a romantic situation, 'out flew my sketch book and my pencil, but the latter would do nothing but write verses.' The poesy delivered on this occasion, though not the worst in the volume, does certainly record that

'As the gazing stranger passes by,
The grazing goat looks up and rings his bell.' p. 115.

It is but fair to mention that Mr. Carr, though a poet, is in no degree a partaker of the jealousy which too often divides the sons of song. He never quotes a contemporary, but to praise him; and he ascribes part of the immortality of Gustavus Vasa, to a tragedy written by Mr. Brook. (p. 140.) He has also a most learned conjecture upon the origin of the '*Loves of the Triangles.*' It seems there flourished in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, a famous Swedish mathematician and poet, called Stiernhielm. 'Perhaps,' says Mr. Carr, 'it was the life of that singular man which suggested the above poem.' (p. 176.) We would submit to the judicious author, our suspicions, that he has not read the '*Loves of the Triangles.*'

Mr. Carr's great favourite in the Swedish part of his travels, is Gustavus III.; and we cannot help considering his eulogiums as rather too lavishly bestowed. That the talents and acquirements of this prince were great, no man can deny, who reflects on the changes which he accomplished in the constitution of Sweden. But after all the praise due to eloquence, intrigue, activity, and the semblance of courage which great activity frequently assumes, has been allowed him, much will remain to be blamed or despised, and more to awaken our doubts and suspicions. Whatever may have been the advantages which Sweden derived from the revolution 1772, we cannot surely point out the author of it as remarkably distinguished by his zeal for the freedom of his country. (p. 129.) The extravagance of Gustavus was altogether inexcuseable in one who came to the throne of Sweden only half a century after the death of Charles XII. Its effects are felt to this day, and render the appellation of '*friend of Sweden*' emphatically bestowed on him by our author, at least somewhat doubtful. No allusion is made to the evils of that policy which produced the last war with Russia; and the blind panegyrist of Gustavus has not reflected upon the escape which Sweden made from a very disproportionate share in the benefits of the revolutionary war, only by the

the sudden death of her '*friend.*' The wicked and contemptible system of augmenting the wealth of the country by increasing dissipation, and encouraging immorality among the higher orders of society, has been imputed, with great appearance of justice, to this *wise, magnanimous,* and *amiable* prince. Nor can those who so freely denominate him hero, truly great, and so forth, easily explain away that perverted habit of mind which made him on all occasions prefer the oblique to the straight path, and think his success incomplete, unless, in gaining his end, he could exhibit his address. In the execrations heaped upon Ankerstroem, we heartily concur; not because the foul deed for which he suffered deprived Sweden of her idol, as Mr. Carr calls him, but because we abhor assassination for its own sake, and will admit of no attempt to palliate its iniquity by the view of any paltry temporary gains with which, like all other crimes, it may happen to be attended. And, for this reason, we must enter our protest against the tone adopted by Mr. Carr in his observations upon the death of the Emperor Paul. He certainly does not undertake the defence of those who murdered that monarch. On the contrary, he qualifies his remarks by some general admissions of their guiltiness. But where the whole colour and complexion of a man's discourse is at variance with a few professions anxiously introduced into it, these can have no other effect than to save him from the charge of stating dangerous principles in a form rather disgusting than hurtful. We trust that our author has in the present instance erred from a casual inadvertency; for, upon other occasions, we have observed nothing of the same description in his work. It is, however, absolutely necessary that we should point out the exceptionable doctrines; and this task we are the more inclined to do, because it will afford an opportunity of noticing the only important piece of information contained in the book.

The history of Paul's assassination commences with a statement that the facts are given upon the authority of '*one who beheld the catastrophe,*' and whom our author '*can neither name nor doubt.*' p. 302. We presume him to mean that he heard the particulars from one of the assassins. In p. 427, we are informed that he had a good deal of conversation with the person who took the lead in the whole proceeding Count P—— Z——, having met him accidentally at an inn in Livonia, and received much civility from him. If common report may be credited, the conspirators have never shown themselves anxious to conceal any part of the transaction; it is therefore not unlikely that Mr. Carr's information may either have been derived from, or at least confirmed by the Count himself.

One of the first acts of Paul's reign was sufficiently singular. He

He removed his father's body from its place of interment, and carried it to be desposited in the same vault with his mother, after having exhibited it in state, and forced Orloff and Baratynski, the murderers, first to keep watch beside it, and then to attend the procession as chief mourners. Our author adds several other anecdotes of this strange eccentric prince, and gives his suffrage to the opinion that he was deranged. Neither here nor elsewhere, have we met with any proofs that Paul was more a madman than those other despotic sovereigns, who wanting the genius required for a steady pursuit of great designs, fill up their leisure by the unlimited indulgence of their capricious fancies. Like them, he seems to have been extremely suspicious; and P—— Z——, his mother's last favourite, fell under his displeasure, notwithstanding the very important service he had rendered, in delivering up Catharine's will, which appointed Alexander her immediate successor. His estates and those of his brothers were sequestrated; and though this sentence was almost immediately recalled, he was ordered to reside upon his property. 'But his mind,' says Mr. Carr,' 'was too ardent to endure seclusion.' He availed himself of the influence of Madame Chevalier with the Emperor, to obtain a share of his favour for one of his own friends; and the two favourites together prevailed upon Paul to receive Z—— once more into his good graces. His first measure was to plan the assassination. 'Whatever private pique,' says our author, 'Z—— might have cherished against his Imperial master, I believe that it was wholly lost in his review of the deteriorated and dreadful condition of the empire, and in those awful measures of restoration, which were afterwards resorted to.' He associated with himself several other noblemen of great rank and influence, who agreed in opinion, that 'to save the empire, it was necessary that the Emperor should be removed.' —'All these noblemen were actuated,' says Mr. Carr. 'by no other motive than to prevent the final ruin of their country; and for this purpose they determined to place in peril their lives and their fortunes.' Whatever may have been the motives of the other conspirators, we think that those of the ringleader are sufficiently explained by this defence of his conduct. He began with betraying the trust reposed in him by Catharine, in order to secure the favour of Paul. Failing in this scheme, he narrowly escaped that ruin which the unsuccessful intriguers for power, under a despotic prince, commonly find to be their only alternative. He wished to try the chance of a new monarch, who might repay treachery somewhat better, or, at any rate, might be less capricious than the old one. And he intrigued to obtain a renewal of Paul's favour, in order to have a better opportunity of accomplishing his murder.

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The conspirators having arranged their measures, proceeded in the following manner. We extract Mr. Carr's own words, which give a very lively picture of the whole catastrophe.

'It was the custom of the Emperor to sleep in an outer apartment next to the Empress's, upon a sopha, in his regimentals and boots,—whilst the Grand Duke and Dutchess and the rest of the Imperial family were lodged at various distances, in apartments below the story which he occupied. On the tenth day of March, O. S. 1801, the day preceding the fatal night, (whether Paul's apprehension, or anonymous information suggested the idea, is not known,) conceiving that a storm was ready to burst upon him, he sent to Count P—— the governor of the city, one of the noblemen who had resolved on his destruction: "I am informed, P——," said the Emperor, "that there is a conspiracy on foot against me; do you think it necessary to take any precaution?" The Count, without betraying the least emotion, replied, "Sire, do not suffer such apprehensions to haunt your mind; if there were any combinations forming against your Majesty's person, I am sure I should be acquainted with it." "Then I am satisfied," said the Emperor, and the governor withdrew. Before Paul retired to rest, he unexpectedly expressed the most tender solicitude for the Empress and his children, kissed them with all the warmth of farewell fondness, and remained with them longer than usual; and after he had visited the centinels at their different posts, he retired to his chamber, where he had not long remained, before, under some colourable pretext that satisfied the men, the guard was changed by the officers who had the command for the night, and were engaged in the confederacy. An hussar, whom the Emperor had particularly honoured by his notice and attention, always at night slept at his bed-room door, in the anti-room. It was impossible to remove this faithful soldier by any fair means. At this momentous period, silence reigned throughout the palace, except where it was disturbed by the pacing of the centinels, or at a distance by the murmurs of the Neva; and only a few lights were to be seen distantly and irregularly gleaming through the windows of this dark colossal abode. In the dead of the night, Z—— and his friends, amounting to eight or nine persons, passed the drawbridge, easily ascended the staircase which led to Paul's chamber, and met with no resistance till they reached the anti-room, when the faithful hussar, awakened by the noise, challenged them, and presented his fusee;—much as they must have all admired the brave fidelity of the guard, neither time nor circumstances would admit of an act of generosity, which might have endangered the whole plan; Z—— drew his sabre, and cut the poor fellow down. Paul, awaked by the noise, sprung from his sopha: at this moment the whole party rushed into his room: the unhappy sovereign, anticipating their design, at first endeavoured to intrench himself in the chairs and tables; then recovering, he assumed a high tone, told them they were his prisoners, and called upon them to surrender. Finding that they fixed their eyes steadily and fiercely upon him, and continued advancing towards him, he implored them to

spare his life; declared his consent instantly to relinquish the sceptre, and to accept of any terms they would dictate. In his raving, he offered to make them princes, and to give them estates, and titles, and orders without end. They now began to press upon him, when he made a convulsive effort to reach the window: in the attempt he failed, and indeed so high was it from the ground, that had he succeeded, the expedient would only have put a more instantaneous period to his misery. In the effort, he very severely cut his hand with the glass; and as they drew him back, he grasped a chair, with which he felled one of the assailants, and a desperate resistance took place. So great was the noise, that notwithstanding the massy walls and thick double folding-doors which divided the apartments, the Empress was disturbed, and began to cry for help, when a voice whispered in her ear, and imperatively told her to remain quiet, otherwise if she uttered another word, she should be put to instant death. Whilst the Emperor was thus making a last struggle, the Prince Y—— struck him on one of his temples with his fist, and laid him upon the floor: Paul, recovering from the blow, again implored his life: at this moment, the heart of P—— Z—— relented, and upon being observed to tremble and hesitate, a young Hanoverian resolutely exclaimed, "We have passed the Rubicon: if we spare his life, before the setting of to-morrow's sun, we shall be his victims!" Upon which he took off his sash, turned it twice round the naked neck of the Emperor, and giving one end to Z—— and holding the other himself, they pulled for a considerable time with all their force, until their miserable sovereign was no more; they then retired from the palace without the least molestation, and returned to their respective homes.' p. 314, &c.

After noticing the grief of the Empress and of the children, more especially the new Emperor; our author makes a very odd remark upon the deceased—for the purpose, it would appear, of consoling him for his own death.

'The acuteness and pungency of his feeling was incompatible with happiness: unnatural prejudice pressed upon the fibre too finely spun, and snapped it.'

Next comes a page entitled '*Magnanimity.*'

'Mercy, (we are told) the brightest jewel of every crown, and a forlorn and melancholy conviction that the reigning motive was the salvation of the empire, prevented Justice from being vindictive. Never, upon the theatre of life, was there presented a scene of more affecting magnanimity: decency, not revenge, governed the sacrifice.' p. 329.

In short, P—— Z—— was ordered not to approach the residence; and Count P—— was removed from the government of St. Petersburg to that of Riga: 'and thus,' says our author, 'terminated this extraordinary and impressive tragedy.'

The account of Potemkin's caprices and magnificence, though amusing, is to be found in all the books which have noticed the period

period of that singular man's influence. It is not so generally known that Paul, in one of his humours, ordered the Prince's remains to be exposed, and the mausoleum erected by Catherine to be pulled down. The anecdotes related of the present Emperor, are all extremely favourable to his character, and prove him to be a person whose amiable qualities would fit him to adorn a private station. If Mr. Carr's account may be credited, he is peculiarly attached to the English nation, and has often been heard to say, 'that the man within whose reach Heaven has placed the greatest materials for making life happy, is an *English country gentleman.*' We earnestly pray that the times may once more be known, when it shall be safe for Europe to have the sceptre of all the Russias swayed by monarchs whose dispositions lead them to envy the happiness of this respectable class of our community.

Of Catherine II. not many new anecdotes are recorded in this volume. Our author praises her for the promptitude and decision which she displayed in putting down a set of fanatics, we should have thought but little likely to gain converts. Their fundamental tenet was, that immediate castration is indispensably necessary to salvation; and this attractive principle proved so popular, that Mr. Carr says it spread and threatened the radical extinction of society. The story which follows this very strange one, would stand a better chance of being credited if it were seen in less suspicious company. The Jacobin emissaries, it seems, were making some progress among the lower orders of the people in St. Petersburg. Catherine had them all seized one evening, and carried to the lunatic asylum, where they were properly shaved, blistered, starved, and physicked. After fourteen days of this wholesome regimen, they were restored to the public view, and universally shunned as insane. Had this harmless experiment failed, she had another mode of treatment in store, and prepared for its adoption, by quickly building a vast state prison.

We know not whether the anecdote of the Samoid deputies in p. 284, has not an air somewhat too romantic: if authentic, it is curious. When Catherine assembled deputies from all the provinces of her vast empire to approve of her new code, two Samoids were asked what legislative provisions they thought best adapted to their nation? 'Our laws are few,' said one of them, 'and we want no more.' 'What,' exclaimed the Empress, 'do theft, murder, and adultery, never appear among you?' 'We have such crimes,' answered the deputy, 'and they are punished: the man who deprives another of his life wrongfully is put to death.' 'But what are the punishments of theft and adultery?' interrupted Catherine. 'How!' said the Scythian, with

equal astonishment, 'are they not sufficiently punished by detection?'

Nothing in Russia appears to have given our traveller more delight than the mode of salutation used by the two sexes. The gentleman kisses the lady's hand, and she, as he raises his head, kisses his cheek. This '*captivating characteristic*,' quite runs away with the author's tender feelings.

'It was politeness improved by the most charming gallantry; bows, curtsies, and salams, are icicles to it.'—'Whilst France,' continues the enraptured youth, 'whilst France furnishes us with caps and bonnets, and Egypt with dusky sideboards, may the Russians fix the universal mode of friendly meeting between the sexes for ever and for ever?' p. 229.

The strength of his tendencies in this line sometimes misleads him rather amusingly. In p. 380, he gives what he calls 'a beautiful recipe for preserving *love*.' It is contained in some lines sufficiently descriptive of the arts and blandishments used for maintaining the fire of animal passion; and still more pleasant is a similar mistake of love for desire in the description of Catherine's garden house.

'One apartment was lined with small paintings of female heads, in pannels, representing in the most exquisite manner, the progress of love, from hope to ecstacy. All the statues, pictures, and decorations were calculated to kindle and cherish the noble and generous flame.' p. 392.

We have remarked already, that Mr. Carr deserves peculiar commendation for abstaining from those private anecdotes with which travellers are too apt to fill their publications. In two instances only have we found any thing like an exception to this laudable discretion. In p. 169, he states the substance of a conversation with Professor Afzelius of Upsal on the subject of the slave trade; in which that learned person is made to 'deprecate any other than a gradual abolition.' The Professor resided some years at Sierra Leone in the Company's service; and we greatly doubt whether Mr. Carr has accurately described his sentiments upon this important question. Indeed we are inclined to suspect a gross mistake, from the context of our author's account; for he adds, that the Professor 'declared in a very emphatic manner, his perfect conviction that a *violent emancipation* would only shock and endanger this great cause of humanity.' It should seem, then, that he only expressed his aversion to any other than a gradual *emancipation*, and that he is indebted to Mr. Carr's rashness for his enmity to an immediate abolition. The other instance of indiscretion to which we have alluded, occurs during our traveller's passage through Russian Poland. After stating, upon the authority

authority of a friend, that the condition of the peasantry has been considerably ameliorated since the partition, he adds a story, for which we trust there is no foundation, and which ought not to have been printed without the best authority, that Kosciusko 'has declared, since her fate has been decided, that it was better for his country to be thus severed, and placed under the various protections of other powerful governments, than to remain an eternal prey to all the horrors of an elective monarchy, baronial tyranny, and intestine dissention.' p. 432. We hope Mr. Carr will excuse us for requesting him to omit these two anecdotes in his next edition, unless, upon more accurate inquiry, he finds that his statements are correct.

Before concluding, we must again recommend this volume of travels as a useful companion to those who make the northern tour, and a book of considerable entertainment to those who pass their time by the help of light reading. It may give a favourable impression of the author's style of lively remark, if we select the following rather exaggerated character of the people of Dantzic.

'The god of gold seemed to have made this spot his favourite temple, to have constituted a bag of corn his chosen altar, and to have recorded his oracles in a ledger: the ramparts of the town seem preserved only to repel hospitality and generosity. The Dantzickers keep a cash account of civilities, and never indulge in festivity without resorting to calculation. A calculating countenance under a little bob-wig, shining brushed cocked hat that has seen good service, a brown coat, waistcoat, and breeches of the same colour, worsted stockings, a pair of shining little silver buckles, and an ivory-headed cane, denote the thrifty Dantzicker. The very beggar in the streets seems to expect a double proportion of bounty for his misfortune, and for the trouble of asking relief. As I was purchasing some articles at a grocer's for my journey, his wife held a little child in her arms, not old enough to speak, to whom I gave a pear, and presently after I presented him with a gulden, a little coin, which he griped, apparently, with the same instinct that would induce a young bear to rifle a honey-jar, and dropped the fruit. The little grocer seemed much pleased with his son's preference, and, in German, as well as I could understand him, exclaimed, "that he would make a brave little tradesman." p. 448.

ART. XIII. *Nouveau Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, appliquée aux Arts, principalement à l'Agriculture et à l'Economie rurale et domestique.* Par une Societé de Naturalistes et d'Agriculteurs; Avec des Figures tirées des trois Règnes de la Nature. 24 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1803 & 1804.

WHEN men of talents and reputation unite in the production of an extensive work, and when that work has attracted the notice and encouragement of the public, we cannot, consistently with our professions, pass it in total silence. The very favourable report of foreign journals, a numerous list of subscribers, and the reputation which attaches to most of the contributors, tempted us to take an early survey of the volumes which we have just announced, and to enter on the irksome task of reviewing a dictionary. According to M. Virey, indeed, we might have spared ourselves this ungrateful office; because, 'when such gentlemen join in writing a book, its merit supersèdes discussion.' Our indolence pleads powerfully, we will own, for the reception of this modest proposition; but our duty compels us to reject it: in their own country, it is very probable that the mere names of the authors may serve as a passport to twenty-four volumes of very close printing; but as soon as they come abroad, they must submit to be searched and examined like common travellers.

At the head of M. Virey's *invincibles*, we were not displeased to find our old acquaintance *Sonnini*, the friend, editor, and continuator of the celebrated Buffon, and author of travels in Egypt, Greece, and Turkey. In the distribution of lexicographic labour, the history of birds and quadrupeds was assigned as his department. In treating of the first, he has adopted the classification and nomenclature of Latham; while, in regard to the latter, he has followed the method annexed to his edition of Buffon. It will be obvious, therefore, that, in a great number of instances, he had only to copy or abridge his own text, to which he frequently alludes with much self-complacency. A lingering illness, we are informed, prevented him from discussing the history of reptiles and fishes; but he has superintended, with considerable ability, the general arrangement and editing of the work.

As a writer, M. Sonnini is frequently too diffuse and florid for the chaste and compendious character of a didactic compilement, destined for consultation only, and to be estimated more by the number of correct facts which it contains, than by the melody of its rhetorical periods. Of ethical sentiment and remark, this ostentatious zoologist is also abundantly liberal. In his account of the rhinoceros, for example, he tells us, very much at his ease, that

—'we

—' we regard only the man who attains to eminence; and that individuals of the second order remain in contempt and obscurity, because the disadvantageous notion of weakness and imperfection is always associated with secondary, when compared with primary objects. This predilection,' he very sagely continues, ' is often unjust, for it sometimes requires more strength of mind and virtue to remain in an obscure station, than to live on a throne which is conferred by birth. Epictetus, in bondage, is an honour to the human race; while Nero, on the throne, is an object of execration.'

All this may be very sound logic, and very wholesome morality; but the rhinoceros, we believe, is not particularly sentimental, and certainly does not possess any very obvious affinity either to Epictetus or Nero. As if the article *eagle* had not occupied sufficient space (about fifteen pages,) it is made the vehicle for many pathetic reflections on the uncertainty of fame, equally original and appropriate to the subject. ' Such is the destiny of all celebrity: among men, it is tarnished by adulation, that is to say, by the most contemptible exaggeration. It is, besides, polluted by absurd fictions,' &c. &c. His shorter articles are handled in a manner much less exceptionable. We select, as a specimen, his notice of the *Argus Pheasant*, an uncommon bird, which supplies an elegant and fashionable appendage of female headdress.

' ARGUS. (*Phasianus Argus*, Lath. fig. pl. 3. Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LV.) A bird of the PHEASANT genus, and of the GALLINACEOUS order. See these terms.

' The argus is only known by a short account published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of London, and copied into the Natural History of Buffon, forty-second volume of my edition. Some new information, furnished by recent travellers, has enabled me to insert an addition at page 218, of which the following is a transcript.

' This bird, which is of the size of a turkey-cock, has, on its head, a double tuft of plumes, which falls back. Its tail is composed of fourteen large graduated flag feathers, of which the two in the middle are very long, and extend greatly beyond the others. Its forehead and throat are covered with a naked skin, of a beautiful red, while the contour of the eyes, and the stiff bristles which project from the base of the bill are black. The head and neck are tinged with blue, and the back and upper coverings of the wings with black, checquered with a bay red; the rump and under coverings of the tail are fallow-coloured, speckled with brown; the nine outer quill-feathers of the wing have a grey ground, shaded with yellowish brown, and with black and white spots on the inside; the next eleven have their dark brown ground relieved with round and oblong spots, with a row of from twelve to fifteen spots, like eyes, running along the shank on the outer side; lastly, the grey flag feathers of the tail are white, spotted

ted with black, and black, mottled with brown, on the inferior coverings. The legs are of a greenish ash colour; the iris of the eyes is orange, and the bill yellowish.

'Thus, it is evident, that the colours of the argus are very pleasingly varied. Hence Marsden styles it, the *famous Sumatran pheasant*, and ranks it, in point of beauty, greatly above all other birds.' (Hist. of Sumatra, French transl. tom. 1. p. 189.) In that island, it bears the name of *coo-ox*, and in Chinese Tartary, that of *luen*. Its European appellation of *argus*, is derived from the eye-like markings, which are profusely scattered on its plumage, and induce some resemblance to the peacock's tail, so gaudy with the hundred eyes of the unfortunate guardian of Io: that fable represents them as placed there by Juno's own hands. This resemblance has also procured for the argus, the surname of *Juno's Pheasant*.

'The argus is very shy. Its cry is as loud and harsh as that of the peacock, and its flesh as savoury as that of the common pheasant. It is with great difficulty kept alive; for it cannot be reconciled to the loss of liberty. Its eyes are dazzled by the light of day, which renders it sad and motionless; but it is fond of darkness.

As Sonnini is really very capable of imparting agreeable information, we regret that many of the extended articles belonging to his peculiar province, have been executed by such inferior co-operators as *Vieillot* and *Desmarest*.

Virey, whom we find designed, 'author of the natural history of the human race,' has been entrusted, we apprehend rather unfortunately, with the introductory discourse, and various important general articles relative to nature, man, animals, their constitution, structure, functions, &c. These we have seldom perused, without experiencing disappointment and disgust. When we looked for general views, reduced to clear and distinct statements, we have commonly found ourselves withdrawn from the object of our search, by vague and flimsy declamation, unfounded assertions, or puerile repetitions. His preliminary harangue may probably pass for a choice morsel of eloquence among the Parisian *belles* and *petit-maîtres*. It is divided into two parts, the first of which professes to present us with general considerations on nature, its provinces, its beauties, and the inducements to the study of its phenomena; while the avowed object of the second, is to sketch the origin and progress of natural history. From both sections, we are dismissed with little real information, but with an ample allowance of unmeaning apostrophes and marks of interrogation. In one passage, we are told that 'stones and minerals know no age, and can never die;' in another, that 'Nature is a *chaste virgin*, whose charms we can discover only through an hundred veils;' in another, that 'she has not always been what she is to-day, and that she in vain affects

affects to conceal, under flowers, the *disorders and ruins of her past life.*' At another time, we really tremble for her existence.

'The season will perhaps arrive, when man will behold her *fatigued with producing whole generations, and hardly able to crawl.*' At that portentous period, the 'sun wandering in the night of heaven, will emit only pale rays; the stars dying, like lamps which have consumed their oil, will gradually be extinguished; and the universe, *like a giant's carcase*, will fall to shreds, unless the Sovereign Architect be pleased to recall nature and the worlds from their swoon!' In the very next sentence, our rhetorician exclaims, 'How sublime and majestic is this living Nature! How she *shines* in spring with grace and *fecundity!* How pompous on her gala days, when, awakening to the tender looks of her *spouse*, the shades of the morning fly, and the first beams of Aurora glitter in the east!'

In a subsequent passage, we are tempted to suppose ourselves transported, for a moment, into Noah's ark; for we are treated with a delectable melody of birds, beasts, fishes, and creeping things, among which '*seditious* monkeys, and loquacious parrots,' are not forgotten. This scene of amiable harmonies is scarcely closed, when we are at length assured, for our comfort, that 'though every thing pertaining to life be a dream and an illusion, "God and nature are eternal." Such are some of the most memorable effusions of J. J. Virey, author of the natural history of the human race.

With the name of *Parmentier* we have been long familiar, and have always been accustomed to connect with it the most honourable motives which can stimulate the mind in the prosecution of science; for his labours have been invariably directed to improve the means and comforts of existence. On the present occasion, we could have wished for a more liberal allowance of his practical instructions: for though they be sometimes tinctured with the prejudices of his country, and addressed to a people who have still much agricultural knowledge to acquire, they may supply useful hints to readers of almost every description. In treating of grain, flour, bread, potatoes, wine, &c. this worthy member of the National Institute evinces a happy combination of judgment, talent, and experimental information. His articles are by far too long for citation; but we beg leave to recommend their serious perusal to every student of domestic and rural economy. Much has been done in this department of physics for nomenclature, method, and description; and the study may certainly be rendered subservient to intellectual exercise and rational amusement: but its value must be ultimately determined by the test of its practical utility. In the eye of reason and philosophy, the humble, but honest endeavours of the naturalist, to promote the subsistence and the comforts of sentient beings, far outweigh the boasted efforts of power and

and affluence, which terminates so often in their destruction. The prejudices which have grown out of our factitious institutions, have rendered the language of truth nearly ridiculous; yet the merit of introducing a single esculent plant into general use, probably surpasses that of conducting armies to aggrandize an empire. To prevent or alleviate famine, to assuage pain, to relieve the wants of our fellows, to augment the sources of health and agreeable accommodation, to proclaim to the busy and the ignorant classes of mankind, the means of enlarging the circle of the blessings and conveniencies of life; this is patriotism, we think, and virtue. Parmentier may not shine on the rolls of fame, like a Linnæus or a Buffon; but it cannot be denied that his writings have a more immediate reference to the welfare of society.

M. *Huzard*, Member of the Institute, and celebrated on the continent for his knowledge in the veterinary art, has undertaken to treat of the diseases incident to domestic animals, and the most approved methods of cure. His remarks evidently bespeak an intimate acquaintance with the subject; but they are dealt out with wondrous parsimony, and, frequently, in a form too compressed to be of much real service. To the article *horse*, he subjoins a catalogue of maladies; but he leaves *cows* to shift for themselves.

By far too large a portion of literary drudgery has devolved on *Bosc*, Member of the Parisian Society of Natural History, and of the Linnæan Society of London. Not content with fishes, reptiles, molluscæ, worms, and shells, this voluminous compiler holds himself responsible for most of the generic and specific descriptions of plants. His omissions, of course, are numerous, and his multifarious communications often crude, meagre, and unsatisfactory. Notwithstanding the assistance of such able colleagues as *Cels*, *Thouin*, *Du Tour*, and *Tollard*, the botanical department of this Dictionary is peculiarly defective. The cryptogamics, which stand most in need of elucidation, have been most neglected; many interesting genera and species have been excluded, and the accounts of many others are limited to a few technical characters. Among various other instances of entire omission, we may notice *Plantago maritima*, which is by no means of rare occurrence, as it is a native of North America, the coast of Barbary and Europe, and as, like *Statice armeria*, it flourishes on the sea-shore, and on alpine heights. From this last mentioned circumstance, some Continental botanists seem to have confounded it with *Plantago alpina* (also omitted by M. Du Tour;) but the latter may, at all times, be distinguished from it by its short oval spikes, and flat lanceolate leaves. As a variety occurs with toothed leaves, it has also been mistaken for the *Leflingii* (another omitted species,) which may be discriminated by flat leaves, and short, roundish, pale spikes,

not

not unlike those of the *psyllium*. This last, and between thirty and forty others, which we shall not stop to enumerate, compose M. Du Tour's *negative* catalogue of the genus *Plantago*. As his countrymen, however, use the maritime sort for a pickle and salad, and sometimes boil the leaves in soup, he might at least have deigned to mention it. More important considerations suggest it to our present notice: for it is now ascertained, that it accommodates itself to almost every diversity of soil and climate; that it resists long droughts; that it is greedily devoured by cows and horses, and that it is successfully cultivated with clover in North Wales, particularly in Anglesea. The numerous and difficult genus, *Carex*, is despatched by Bosc in a manner so very superficial, that it can be of use neither to the tyro nor the adept. This negligence is the more inexcusable, because Drs. Withering and Goodenough have laid the foundation of a distinct arrangement. Most of the species, too, combine singularity with elegance of structure, and not a few have been found to possess some useful properties. The roots of the *Arenaria*, for example, are well adapted to fixing moveable sand, as they not only extend their interlaced fibres, but retain a certain degree of humidity at the surface. When fresh or washed, they savour of oil of turpentine, or some balsamic pine; and they have been long celebrated in Germany, as possessing virtues superior to those of sarsaparilla. Gleditsch, in the Berlin Memoirs for 1769, adverts to their successful application in the March of Brandenburg, where waggon loads of the roots may be easily obtained. Where it cannot be procured, the *disticha* of Hudson, and the *hirta* of Linnæus, are recommended in its stead. None of these circumstances, however, are even hinted at in the article *Laiche*, nor can we so much as recognize the plant with which they are connected. If we could spare time and room, we might easily multiply similar instances of unpardonable carelessness. It is, to be sure, very polite and good-natured on the part of M. Virey to trumpet the praises of the botanical phalanx; but we always distrust prefatory eulogy—'By their fruits ye shall know them.'

Entymology has been shared between *Olivier* and *Latreille*, both Members of the Institute, *et Arcades ambo*. The former has acquired a respectable name by his general articles on the same subject in the Encyclopédie Méthodique, and his Travels in Egypt, Turkey, and Persia; and the latter by his learned treatises on the genera and families of insects. Several of the anatomical and physiological details, and the exposition of the coleopterous order, are from the pen of Olivier. If his enumerations be incomplete, his statements are always apposite, and conveyed in language perspicuous and precise. He has, moreover, bestowed a commendable attention on the manners and habits of the little creatures which

which he so ably describes. In these respects he is nearly on a level with his ingenious associate. Their joint stock by no means forms a complete Entomological Dictionary; but it is, on the whole, highly creditable to their knowledge and talents, at the same time that it is often entertaining and instructive to the reader. The article *insect* itself, which occupies sixty pages, and is executed by Olivier, contains many excellent observations on the study, configuration, structure, and economy of the minuter families of living beings. We shall extract only a short passage, which includes a quotation from Latreille.

'That insects are endowed with the sense of hearing, can no longer be disputed, since *frog-hoppers*, and several of the *orthopterous* tribes furnish us with undeniable proofs of the fact. Nature has provided the males of these insects with the means of calling their females by an instrument fitted to produce a sound which is heard by the latter. The male and female cricket give notice of each other's presence by repeatedly striking with their mandibles against old wood in houses, or decayed trees, their favourite haunts.

'That insects possess the faculty of smelling, is clearly demonstrated. It is the most perfect of all their senses. *Beetles*, of various sorts, *nitidulæ*, the different species of *dermestes*, *sylphs*, *flies*, &c. perceive, at a very considerable distance, the smell of ordure and dead bodies, and resort in swarms to the situations in which they occur, either for the purpose of procuring food, or depositing their eggs. The blue flesh-fly, deceived by the cadaverous odour of a species of *arum*, alights on its flower. But, though we can thus easily prove the presence of the sense of smell among insects, it is much more difficult to discover the seat of that particular sense. Several naturalists have supposed that it resides in the antennæ. Duméril, in a dissertation published in 1799, attempts to prove, that it must be situated about the entrance of the stigmata or respiratory organs, as Baster had previously supposed. His arguments, however, did not induce Latreille to relinquish the former opinion, which places it in the antennæ. The following are the reasons which he assigns for his belief.

'1. The exercise of smell consists only in the action of air, impregnated with odoriferous particles, on the nervous or olfactory membrane, which transmits the sensation.

'If insects be endowed with an organ, furnished with similar nerves, and with which air charged with odoriferous particles, comes in contact, such an organ may be regarded as that of smell. Should the antennæ present a tissue of many nerves, what inconvenience can result from supposing that this tissue is capable of transmitting odour? Would not this hypothesis, on the contrary, be more simple and more consonant to anatomical principles, than that which fixes the seat of smell at the entrance of the stigmata? Besides, this last mode of explanation will not, I presume, suit the crustaceous animals, which so nearly approach to insects.

'2.

'2. Many male insects have their antennæ more developed than the female; a fact easily explained, if we admit that these organs are the seat of smell.

'3. It is certain, that most of those insects which live or deposit their eggs on putrid animal or vegetabe matters, stagnant waters, or any substance, in short, which, for a time, affects peculiar localities, are almost uniformly distinguished by a greater developement of the antennæ. Such, for example, are the *scarabs*, *dermestes*, *sylphs*, *cleri*, *tenebriones*, *tipulæ*, *libiones*, &c. These required a more perfect sense of smell, and are organized accordingly.

'4. A great many insects, which are entirely predacious, have simple antennæ; and those which are characterized by similar manners, and which are sedentary, have none at all; as for instance, the *acari*, and a considerable portion of Lamarck's *arachnidæ*.

'5. Insects discover their habitation and food by the sense of smell. I have deprived several insects of their antennæ, when they instantly fell into a state of stupor or derangement, and seemed to be incapable of recoguizing their haunts or their food, though just beside them. Such experiments deserve to be prosecuted. I would recommend, for example, the varnishing or covering the antennæ of dung beetles, and placing them near animal excrements, of which they are particularly fond, to observe if they would repair to them as usual.

'6. The nerves terminate at the antennæ; and their articulations, though externally covered with a pretty thick membrane, are hollow, lined within by a soft substance, which is often of a watery consistency, and whose extremity, when opposed to the air, may receive its impressions.'

The articles *Bee*, *Spider*, *Butterfly*, &c. will well reward the trouble of perusal. *Bombyx* furnishes some interesting pages; but not one fourth of the species are characterized. The same remark applies to too many of the genera.

The name of Chaptal is formally announced as connected with the application of chymical science to natural history.

'For this we are principally indebted to CHAPTAL, member of the Institute, and an illustrious philosopher, who combines profound knowledge with the executive genius of the statesman. We will not praise as it deserves splendid merit that is decorated with high official situation; since flattery has too often perverted panegyric by prostituting it to power alone. We conceive a modest silence to be more suitable. Different chymical articles relative to vegetable and mineral substances, and to meteorology, which will be found in this work, belong to the learned friend of the arts, who is solicitous of procuring to France all the advantages of the natural sciences. Thus the example of the great Colbert will not be lost for our country and our posterity.'

From this we might naturally infer, that the Minister of the Interior had graciously condescended to compose many a luminous page of this infalliable Dictionary. What he has bestowed will certainly

tainly not detract from his reputation, which, as a chymist, is deservedly high; but the whole amount is really so very inconsiderable, as hardly to require notice. *Analysis, distillation, solution, reagent*, &c. &c. are not to be found in the alphabetical series. *Acid* and *alkali* are shortly explained by another hand, as are *gas, oxygen, azot, hydrogen, carbon, caloric*, &c.; and indeed the extreme paucity of M. Chaptal's communications strongly tempts us to believe, that they have been procured for the sole purpose of inserting his name among those of the regular contributors, and thus extending the sale of the publication.

Libes, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the central schools of Paris, has condensed several physical topics with considerable neatness and ability. His discussion of a *thunder-storm* (*orage*) involves a theory of the aurora borealis, which is at least ingenious and forcibly stated. With becoming modesty, he presumes not to have snatched the secrets of nature. Meteorology, he admits, must long be in its infancy, because most of the meteors are produced beyond the sphere of our agency, by agents which we cannot subject to examination. His observations on *light* are somewhat confused; and we wish that he had given more extension to such a difficult subject as *wind*. To compensate these deficiencies, *magnetism, electricity, galvanism*, &c. manifest a judicious selection of important facts.

M. *Dufresne*, overseer of zoological operations at the laboratory of the National Museum of Natural History, has communicated an excellent essay on *Taxidermia*, or the art of dressing, stuffing, and preserving the skins of animals. For the sake of professed collectors and keepers of cabinets, we should be glad to see so many useful directions translated into English.

Last, though not least in this club of naturalists, is the veteran *Patrin*, Member of the National Institute, and of several learned societies. Having, from early life, directed his vigorous and penetrating mind to the study of the physical constitution of our planet; and having, some time ago, returned from an eight years tour in Northern Asia with valuable mineral collections, he was eminently qualified to furnish a very respectable body of materials on geology in all its branches. Some of our readers need not be informed, that this indefatigable observer has published a system of mineralogy, which, as an exposition of most of the fossil substances at present known, possesses very uncommon merit, but which, viewed in the light of theoretical investigation, is extremely open to criticism. Many of his sentiments are bold, original, and ingeniously supported; but few of them will abide the test of sober examination. It is, therefore, to be regretted, that he has so frequently incorporated them with his admirable and characteristic descriptions

descriptions of fossil substances, and his masterly statements of acknowledged facts in the history of stratification, earthquakes, volcanoes, &c. Yet, we cannot dissemble, that even M. Patrin's dreams have amused us fully as much as any part of this miscellaneous and very unequal collection. To expound them at large, would lead us greatly beyond our proper limits. We shall therefore only hint, in passing, at one of them, which is certainly sufficiently *simple*. His theory of attraction, he acquaints us, accords with that of *Fermat*, the rival and friend of Descartes, 'mais trop *bonhomme* pour avoir fait beaucoup de bruit.'

'This good creature frankly admits, that the reciprocal attraction which exists between bodies, is caused by their natural *desire* for union. (Var. Op. Math. p. 24.) This idea,' continues Patrin, 'is so simple, that men have disdained to attend to it; yet it appears to be so conformable to all the phenomena of nature, at the same time that it explains them in a way so rational and easy, that I am persuaded it will one day be an admitted truth, *that every thing in nature lives; and that every particle of the substance which we call matter, is endowed with perception and volition.*'

In justice, too, to this intrepid speculator, we have to remark, that he does not obstinately resist conviction. In an early part of the impression, we find him stoutly combating the growing belief in the fall of stony substances from the atmosphere, though the existence of such a phenomenon would illustrate his favourite tenets on the concretion of gases. In a future volume, however, he candidly recants his scepticism, and, 'nothing loath,' yields to the pressure of evidence. The shower of stones at L'Aigle is, indeed, sufficient to startle the most hardened unbeliever. The circumstances which accompanied this most wonderful appearance are well detailed by M. Patrin himself, under the article *Pierres Météoriques*. In place of extracting the whole, we shall give the substance of M. Biot's letter, by way of completing the train of evidence which we stated on a former occasion.

'On Tuesday, 6th Floreal, year XI, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the weather being serene, there was observed from Caen, Pont d'Audemer, and the environs of Alençon, Falaise, and Verneuil, a fiery globe, of a very dazzling splendour, and which moved in the atmosphere with great rapidity. Some moments after, there was heard at L'Aigle, and in the environs of that town, in the extent of more than thirty leagues every way, a violent explosion, which lasted five or six minutes. At first, there were three or four reports, like those of a cannon, followed by another which resembled the firing of musketry; after which was heard a dreadful rumbling, like the beating of a drum. These noises proceeded from a small cloud, which appeared motionless while the phenomenon lasted; but the vapours, of which it was composed, were projected momentarily from different sides, by the successive

sive explosions. This cloud was about half a league to the north-west of L'Aigle, and at a great elevation; for the inhabitants of two hamlets, a league distant from each other, saw it, at the same time, above their heads. In the whole district over which it hovered, a hissing noise was heard; and a multitude of mineral masses exactly similar to those distinguished by the name of *meteoric stones*, were seen to fall at the same time. These masses were projected over an elliptical extent of about two leagues and a half in length, and nearly one in breadth, the greatest dimension being in a direction from south-east to north-west, coinciding exactly with that of the magnetic needle. The largest stones fell at the south-east extremity of the large axis of the ellipse, the middle-sized in the centre, and the smallest at the other extremity. The largest of all that fell weighs seventeen pounds and a half, and the smallest which M. Biot saw, about two *gros*, or a thousandth part of the last. In all, they certainly amount to above two or three thousand.'

Such are the principal results of M. Biot's researches, and they coincide with the letters of the learned and unlearned in the canton where the meteor was observed. It may be proper to remark, that M. Biot is a member of the Institute; that he was commissioned by the government to investigate all the circumstances on the spot; and that he has lately published a very detailed report.

He who examines the various accounts of this astonishing meteor, may detect some seeming contradictions. Thus, according to some, it had a rapid motion; others believed it stationary; some saw a very luminous fire-ball; and others only an ordinary cloud. The truth, however, appears to be, that it was viewed by different spectators in different positions with respect to its direction. They who happened to be in its line of march, would see it stationary, for the same reason that we fancy a ship under sail to be motionless, when we are placed in its wake, or when we view it in a straight line from the harbour to which it is approaching. They, on the other hand, who had a side view of the meteor, would reckon its progress the more rapid, in proportion as their position approached to a right angle with its line of passage. They, again, who saw it from behind, as the inhabitants of L'Aigle, could perceive only the cloud of vapour which it left in its train, and which, in the dark, would have figured like a blazing tail, in the same manner as the smoke of a volcano appears black during the day, and red at night. Lastly, they who were placed in front, as the people in the neighbourhood of Orbec, would view it as stationary, but brilliant and cloudless.

The L'Aigle stones have all the external characters of those deemed atmospheric, and yielded to Fourcroy and Vauquelin nearly the following proportions of ingredients.

Silica,

Silica,	54.
Oxyd of Iron,	36.
Magnesia,	9.
Nickel,	3.
Sulphur,	2.
Lime,	1.
	105.

The additional five per cent. was probably owing to the oxydation of the metals produced by the analysis.

Besides geological and mineralogical topics, M. Patrin has treated several others which are more strictly meteorological, physical, or astronomical. But we cannot afford to dwell longer on individual compilers, and their respective quotas of service; and must now hasten to take a cursory glance of their united labours *en masse*. Each contributor, we are fully aware, is responsible only for the portions to which his name is annexed: but the publishers are responsible for the whole; and intending purchasers have a right to inquire, how far the undertaking, as a whole, is calculated to answer its professed design.

1. A complete dictionary of any science should include the whole appropriate phraseology of that science. If a single technical, or popular term, sanctioned by the authority of any respectable writer, be omitted, the vocabulary is, strictly speaking, defective. In most cases, however, perfect alphabetical enumeration is not to be expected; and, in the present instance, a register of fifty or sixty thousand names and synonyms, was rather to be desired than obtained. At the same time, had we not inspected these volumes with more than usual diligence, we could not have believed, that the mere catalogue of words which they exhibit, was half so poor and scanty as we find it to be. Thus, in the first hundred pages, which deduce the alphabetical series to *acridophages*, we have in vain searched for *abalon*, *abdelavi*, *abies*, *ablet*, *abomasus*, *aboumras*, *abrasion*, *abre*, *abreuvoir*, *abrotonoide*, *acalyce*, *acanthias*, *acanthopis*, *acare*, *acaule*, *accolage*, *accoller*, *accolure*, *accorné*, *accouver*, *accroupie*, *accul*, *acculer*, *acerbe*, *acerée*, *acérine*, *acescence*, *acescent*, *acétates*, *acéteux*, *acétification*, *acétique*, *acétites*, *achelarge*, *acicule*, *acidification*, *acidifier*, *acidité*, *acidule*, *acinos*, *acocolin*, *acoli*, *acre*, *acreté acridie*, &c. not to mention a legion of exotic and synonymous terms. Were we disposed to tire our readers and ourselves, we could produce a list of many hundred omissions. Notwithstanding the bold assertion, that 'every object is accompanied by the name assigned to it by Linnæus,' we could point out a great number of instances in which Linnæus and his nomenclature are never mentioned. We have already noted the

lamentable chasms in the department of Botany. That of Ichthyology is also far from complete. On turning to the abdominal and cartilaginous orders of fishes, we remarked, among other *absentees*, *Acanthonotus nasus*, *Exocœtus*, *commersonii*, two species of *Polynemus* described by Russel under their Indian appellations of *Maga Boshee* and *Maga Jellee*, the lineated and plumierian species of the same genus, both noticed by Cepède, and *Raja guttata*, *fasciata*, *bicolor*, and *maculata*. In short, as we proceeded with our scrutiny, we fairly sunk under the accumulating load of sins of omission.

2. We are fully conscious of the abuses and absurdities to which an indiscreet zeal for etymology has given birth; and it has been said with some truth, that in the eyes of an intrepid etymologist, the consonants are of very little importance, and the vowels of none at all. Yet, if words can be distinctly traced to their origin, we conceive it to be the duty of the lexicographer so to trace them. We trust it will not be seriously maintained, that the analysis of names is an office too ignoble for the propagators of science: on the contrary, it is intimately connected with the most dignified of all sciences, namely, that of the human mind. In regard to the appellations of the known productions of nature, a very large proportion may be easily deduced from their Greek and Latin sources, though few of them lie within the precincts of pure classical diction, and, consequently, have seldom occupied the leisure of the learned. In proportion, however, as the languages of Greece and Rome have been banished into the schools and colleges of modern Europe, the study of natural history, whose technical phraseology has been constructed on the analogies of these languages, has been diffused. Hence it becomes the more necessary to resolve the generic and specific designations and characters into their constituent parts, or, at least, so to adjust their meaning, that they may be more readily retained in the memory, and that sense and reason may be perceived to attach to those portions of sound, which to many may appear capricious or arbitrary. Such grammatical treatment, too, may occasionally point to real or fancied properties and habits, and may thus associate the recollection of a name with traits of the economy or history of the object which it designates. Some of the more ancient, or of the more accidental denominations, it is true, may now be involved in obscurity. Yet, even in doubtful cases, a conjectural theme, if proposed merely as such, is, perhaps, preferable to silence. For it can hardly be denied that the legitimate, or even the plausible derivation of a term, is the best introduction to the definition of its actual signification, just as the definition is the most suitable preamble to an explanation of

of the thing defined. For these reasons, it is surely desirable, that whatever aid etymology can furnish should be freely accorded to works of a purely descriptive and explanatory character. The compounders of the New Dictionary of Natural History, however, appear to have been guided by very different views; for they scarcely ever condescend to point to the original of a single word. We have occasionally observed recent coinages honoured with special explanation, as if to the bulk of readers they were of more difficult solution than those which have long passed current.

3. The history of the term, we need hardly add, should be followed by its definition, and that by a description of the object denoted. The generic and specific characters should be distinctly enumerated, and the qualities particularized, according to the most approved information and the most recent discoveries. In these respects the publication before us is entitled, on the whole, to considerable commendation; for it displays much accurate and even elegant explanatory detail. In too many instances, however, the elucidations are partial and scanty, while some of the more unwieldy subjects have been made the vehicles of crude and gratuitous speculations, or of vague and silly assertions, decked out in the parade of philosophical diction. Yet, if the descriptions be sometimes lame and unsatisfactory on the one hand, and sometimes unduly protracted, or blended with foreign matters, on the other, we have very seldom found them palpably erroneous.

4. We have already hinted at the important benefits which may accrue to the individual and to society from the prosecution of the study of natural history. An intimation of the uses, then, to which the objects described may be applied, must form an essential part of every liberal view of the science. Under the head of useful, we wish also to include ornamental properties. In common language, indeed, these epithets are frequently contrasted, but the ideas which they represent, are, in nature, closely allied, since whatever conduces to rational recreation, and to the gratification of elegant taste, involves in its essence real advantage; and the difference between the *utile* and *dulce* consists in degree rather than in kind. On the present occasion, the subserviency of the objects described to the arts and accommodations of life, are frequently overlooked, or too superficially noted. Much practical information is withheld relative to the important operations of mining, dyeing, bleaching, fishing, &c. The articles of a purely economical character are, usually, well discussed; but considerations of utility are too seldom introduced in the way of collateral remark.

5. To the curious and scientific reader, it will be superfluous to insist on the unspeakable advantage of constant and accurate re-

ferences to the best sources of information on the various subjects which compose such an extensive performance. Authorities, however, are rarely, and only incidentally cited—a circumstance which we cannot help considering as a very serious objection to the usefulness of the work.

If much legitimate matter has been excluded from these twenty-four volumes, it cannot afford great consolation to purchasers to be informed, that the compilers have, on the other hand, enlarged them by many unnecessary additions. We will not deny that, in one sense, Natural History may embrace the consideration of every known object in the universe; in which case, a title like the present would be synonymous with that of a complete Encyclopædia; but as the science has been commonly defined and understood, its province is far more circumscribed. In the received meaning of the expression, it takes no cognizance of human manners, nor professes to explain the magnitudes and motions of the heavenly bodies. Meteorology, Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology, present scope enough of inquiry to the most zealous society of *savans* that ever existed, without trenching on the confines of Morality and Astronomy; and he who wanders in vain through the mazes of lexicography for the history of a pebble or a butterfly, is not to be soothed by a dissertation on the canoe of the savage, the satellites of Jupiter, or the ring of Saturn. In searching for *Amphitrite auricoma*, we found that all the species of the genus were confounded in a few short sentences; and we were fain to be contented with some very sapient remarks on popular and learned prejudices, suggested by the article *Amulet*. By way of parenthesis, the author acquaints us, that, in his *Treatise on the Education of the French*, he has demonstrated the impossibility of delivering a nation from the fetters of prejudice. In his list of talismans he is pleased moreover to reckon a bank-note, provided the bank be solvent; otherwise the same note is only a worthless bit of paper. All this concentration of wit and philosophy, however, afforded us but little consolation for our disappointment in the main object of our pursuit. Since an article is allotted to *medals*, pictures and statues might with equal propriety have been included in the chaotic mass.

For the rest, this hastily digested compilement is by much too large for a synoptical view, and by much too small for a particular delineation of Natural History. It contains many insulated passages of singular merit; but, as a whole, its imperfections are like 'the sand on the sea-shore, which cannot be numbered.'

ART. XIV. *History of Great Britain.* By William Belsham. Vol. XI. and XII. London, 1805. 8vo.

HAVING in a former article* given some account of the two preceding volumes of this work, we are in a manner called upon to say something of the concluding part, which is now offered to the public. In that article we took the liberty to express an opinion, which we have as yet seen no reason to alter, that Mr. Belsham's mode of writing is altogether incompatible with the character of *history*. In an advertisement to the volumes before us, he professes indeed that 'he is not indifferent to the censure which the free avowal of his sentiments has incurred;' but he does not seem at all disposed to admit the justness of the censure; and accordingly, he can only prevail upon himself to plead guilty to a few expressions '*bordering* upon anger and asperity.' It is pleasant to hear an author talk in this manner, who has so frequently indulged himself in the most outrageous scurrility, and contaminated the page of history with the intemperate sallies of political animosity. Mr. Belsham, however, contends, that it is the duty of the historian to exercise the right of 'free judgment, regarding the principles and tendencies of different and opposite systems of action.' This is no doubt true: but does he really imagine that this pretext will justify, in the eyes of any candid reader, the fierce diatribes, the party spirit, and factious clamour with which his volumes abound? The right of the historian to sit in judgment upon men and systems is no longer called in question: but it is this judicial character with which he is invested, that imposes the duty of cautious inquiry, and dignified and impartial decision. It is the difficulty of preserving this indispensable candour and temperance of judgment indeed, still more than the want of sufficient information, that disqualifies most writers from delivering to posterity the history of their own contemporaries, and has usually devolved upon men of a succeeding generation the task of recording for their children the transactions of their immediate predecessors. The historian of his own times will always be suspected of partiality; and most probably will deserve to be suspected. But a writer like Mr. Belsham does not maintain even the appearance of fairness. It is not the testimony of a partial witness, but the pleading of a zealous advocate; and the other party

* Vol. II. p. 177, &c. Under the title of 'Memoirs of George the III. Vols. V. & VI.' Mr. Belsham continues his narrative in the present volumes; but, having now completed his work from the Revolution, he gives to the whole collection the title of 'History of Great Britain,' of which the volumes before us stand XI. and XII.

party must be heard at equal length, before any judgment can be safely formed upon his statement.

The volumes before us are composed on the same system with those that have preceded them. A *procès-verbal* of speeches, state papers, and gazettes, eked out with comments and digressions, make up the sum of this *soi-disant* history. The eleventh volume opens with the Session of Parliament commencing in November, 1798; and the author, according to custom, presents, in due form, the King's speech, with a detail of the debate on the motion of address. We afterwards meet with the discussions upon the act imposing a duty upon income; and this celebrated, and it may be impolitic, measure of finance, the author stigmatizes in the most acrimonious terms; but without once condescending to reason upon the subject.

'Notwithstanding these vain and ill-timed boasts,' says he, speaking of the minister's speech upon that occasion, 'the nation at large saw and felt that a more arbitrary and oppressive impost was never devised nor attempted by the most rapacious tyranny in any age or country.' p. 19.

Mr. Belsham next passes to a very important object of parliamentary deliberation, we mean the proposal which was then brought forward, of an incorporative union between the sister legislatures of great Britain and Ireland. Our author is favourable to this great measure; which was approved, he says, by all thinking men in England; because they saw in its accomplishment the only means of neutralizing those partial interests, which had too long possessed an exclusive sway in that distracted country. In Ireland, again, the project of union, if not ardently embraced, was at least favourably received, by the mass of the people consisting of the Catholics. Indeed, it was impossible that they should be much afflicted by the projected annihilation of a local legislature, in which they had no share, and whose tender mercies had often been cruel. But the majority even of the Protestant landed proprietors were also, according to our author, favourable to the Union; because they were not without fear, that an independent republican government might otherwise be established under the auspices of France. Without the concurrence, indeed, of the majority of these classes, the proposal of an incorporative union would have been rash and impolitic; and government, as our author observes, would have vainly exerted its influence to bring it about. But while we agree with Mr. Belsham upon this interesting subject, we cannot approve of the manner in which he has treated it as a matter of historical information. Instead of giving a connected and comprehensive view of the causes which rendered this measure a matter of political necessity, and

and of the opposite interests by which it was either forwarded or opposed, he resorts to his usual clumsy and indolent expedient, of quoting a succession of speeches upon the question, by which he renders the whole view of it vague and indeterminate.

From the discussion of the projected union with Ireland, Mr. Belsham digresses to the affairs of the Continent; expatiating at great length upon the military operations of the contending armies, and the revolutionary broils of the kingdom of Naples. The narrative of the military operations is exceedingly desultory; and consequently the impression which it produces is feeble and indistinct. The events which took place in the Neapolitan territory, after the French armies had been driven from Italy by the victorious Suvaroff, are narrated with considerable spirit; but in a manner which betrays the author's decided predilection for the revolutionists, and his detestation of all by whom the interests of the Royal party were espoused. His narrative is faithfully taken from the '*Sketches*' of the excellent Helen Maria Williams; of course he becomes quite impassioned, and by far too noisy, for the propriety of history. That the Neapolitans were incapable of enjoying a free government, he is however obliged to admit: it follows therefore, that the project of a republican constitution was as absurd as it was wicked; and that the only remedy against greater evils, was the re-establishment of the government which had been unwarrantably pulled down. But although we are not disposed to weep with Mr. Belsham over the prostrate democracy of Naples, we are not therefore inclined either to justify or palliate the excesses of those by whom it was overthrown. It must, however, be recollected, that the Royal government, in a justificatory memorial which it afterwards published, strongly disavows the charge of proscription; but our author neither adverts to this or any other document; having gone no farther, apparently, in search of authorities, than to the said Sketches of Miss Williams.

From these excursive details, our historian then returns to objects more immediately connected with British annals; but it is only for a little while that he stops to shed the lights of history upon our dark and disordered political system; for he soon starts away to expatiate upon topics which seem to have greater charms for him. Meantime, he adverts to the expedition to Holland in 1799; the account of which is done up from the disaffected newspapers of that time, in Mr. Belsham's own happy manner. It seems, indeed, not to be so much the intention of our historian to give a just account of the objects of that expedition, and the real causes of its failure, as to sneer at the military talents, and ridicule the despatches of the British commander in chief.

The surrender, about this period, of the valuable colony of Surinam

rinam to the British arms, draws forth the following very classical passage; in which we have no doubt that the author is satisfied he has proved, in a striking manner, the gross folly of such conquests.

'Another possession was thus added to those Atlantean conquests, which have so invariably proved the bane of the victors, and where pestilence suspends perpetually, and by a single hair, over the votaries of avarice and sensuality, the fatal sword of death!' p. 179. vol. XI.

The following paragraph forms a most appropriate introduction to the encomiastic narrative which succeeds.

'All France felt the full force of her past and present evils, and the imperious necessity of establishing a better order of things. She required a government capable of repairing the ruins of the political edifice; or rather of reconstructing it on more solid and durable foundations. But by what miraculous interposition was this to be accomplished? By what superhuman means was confidence to be restored, was courage to be reanimated, was civil discord to be healed, and authority, now every where spurned at, to be invigorated and confirmed? To solve these interesting questions, it is now become necessary to revert to the history of that celebrated commander, who, in the spirit of romantic enterprise, had, in the beginning of the preceding year, bid adieu to his country, in search of new adventures, and in the hope of acquiring fresh, and, if possible, more verdant laurels on the opposite side of the globe.' p. 190.

Our eulogist accordingly proceeds to take a view of Bonaparte's concluding adventures in Egypt. The result of the memorable siege of Acre puts him in some anxiety about the military reputation of his hero. He is obliged to admit, that Bonaparte was completely foiled by a very trifling force; and that he needlessly sacrificed his soldiers after every rational prospect of success had vanished: but these untoward facts make nothing against him, in the opinion of the indulgent Mr. Belsham. The following passage must amuse our readers; it alludes to that obdurate gentleman, Sir Sidney Smith, who persisted in keeping Acre from this miraculous man.

'A *Christian knight*, combating not against, but in aid of the Turkish miscreants, was a strange phenomenon in Palestine; and it must be owned, that the renowned Cœur de Lion would never have recognized him in that character!' p. 198.

Our historian closely follows Bonaparte from Egypt to Paris; recording, as he proceeds, the shouts of *Vive Bonaparte, Vive la Republique*, with exemplary fidelity. The general, however, had resolved that the republic should not live very long: he accordingly took his measures like a great commander; and having dispossessed the Constituted Authorities in a very masterly style, he forthwith arrayed himself in the Consular insignia. All this was rendered

rendered indispensably necessary by 'the imperious necessity of establishing a better order of things.' Mr. Belsham, with becoming minuteness, details the code of this new constitution, 'unquestionably entitled to be ranked among the few free forms of government subsisting in the world:' (p. 237.) and he describes the blessings attending the exercise of the Consular power with his usual force and brilliancy of colouring.

'In the interior,' says he, 'Bonaparte made every effort to pacify and unite the different factions: establishing freedom of general worship; infusing confidence into every breast, harassed by the storms of the revolution, and panting for the blessings of repose. Regularity succeeded to trouble and disorder; the several branches of the military establishment were reorganized; the civil administration experienced great and essential ameliorations; and the tribunals of justice regained their activity. The list of emigrants, till this period, kept open in order to be occasionally exercised as a rod of terror and of vengeance, was finally closed; and the sun of prosperity began once more to shed its benign rays on a desolated and distracted country.' p. 225.

The remaining part of the eleventh volume is chiefly occupied with the proceedings of Parliament upon the overture of peace, contained in Bonaparte's celebrated letter to the King. Mr. Belsham is under infinite obligations to the journals upon such emergencies; they uniformly contribute to swell his book in a direct *ratio* to the length of the debate. Great use is therefore made of the speeches upon this occasion; the historian contenting himself with a passing sneer at ministerial influence, and 'the furious faction of the Burkites.' After the copious extracts from the reply of Mr. Fox to the speech of the Minister, it would, indeed, have been great presumption in Mr. Belsham to have attempted to expose the impolicy of rejecting that overture. That reply has always appeared to us one of the greatest efforts of this distinguished statesman; it has all the characteristics of the highest kind of eloquence; and it rises in excellence, even when compared with the deeply meditated and highly finished oration which called it forth. It would be going beyond the bounds of our province to enter into the question debated in these speeches.

The twelfth and concluding volume of this history opens with the correspondence between Lord Grenville and M. Otto, relative to the naval armistice proposed by the First Consul, as the preliminary to a joint negotiation with Austria and Great Britain. Mr. Belsham does not affirm, that the armistice ought to have been acceded to upon the terms exacted by France; but he discovers, with his accustomed sagacity, that the negotiation was conducted by Lord Grenville in a very stupid and unstatesman-like manner; and accordingly, he treats the 'perversity and egregious incapacity of the English minister' with becoming contempt;

contempt; reserving the meed of his high approbation for the superior 'candour and intelligence' displayed by the French commissary.

Having thus disposed of the negotiation about the armistice, the author conducts us through an erratic survey of military operations and other remarkable occurrences upon the Continent, to the dispute between Great Britain and the Northern Powers, regarding the rights of naval neutrality. He gives a full account of the origin and progress of this important controversy; which terminated, as is well known to our readers, in a convention among those powers upon the principle of the armed neutrality of 1780. The wayward policy of the Emperor Paul, now become the soul of this confederacy, gives Mr. Belsham an opportunity of exulting over the shortsightedness of the British ministers, by recalling to their recollection the eulogies bestowed upon this boasted ally. He disapproves, in the harshest terms, of the conduct of this government towards Denmark; and is impatient to contrast its presumptuous folly in raising up new enemies, with the 'more liberal and conciliatory policy' of the consular sovereign of France. This is the favourite theme, indeed, upon which this worthy historian delights to expatiate through the whole of his performance. Wearied and disgusted with the pitiful politics of his own country, his benevolent mind finds relief and consolation in contemplating the august spectacle of the consular government exerting all its energies to re-establish social order and universal peace. Indignant at the bigoted and injurious notions entertained of this government, he carefully indicates all the features of its wisdom and goodness; and then asks,

'Why might not a constitution which produced such great and instantaneous benefits to the community, which secured such privileges to the mass of the people, be recognized in general language as a *free* constitution, and left, undisturbed by praise or censure, to its natural and genuine operation? Vol. XII. p. 116.

Will it be believed that this liberal querist records immediately after, that under this *free* and righteous administration, one hundred and thirty-two persons *suspected* of disaffection, 'were sentenced to banishment, without even the form of trial?' (p. 122.) In spite of this, however, he continues to deprecate all censure of the government authorizing such oppressions, and obsequiously endeavours to excuse the tyrant who commands them. His life having been endangered by the explosion of the *infernal machine*, this ugly adventure, we are told, infused into his mind 'an adventitious *tincture* of suspicion and severity not naturally belonging to it!'

The

The resignation of Mr. Pitt in 1801, forms one of those remarkable occurrences, upon which this judicious historian finds it necessary to have recourse to poetry, to supply the deficiencies of historical expression. The verses which he introduces to celebrate the fall of the arch-enemy of the British constitution, are borrowed, with great propriety, from that truly respectable and highly moral poet, who is known by the appellation of Peter Pindar. For the poetry, we must refer the curious reader to page 157th of this volume: meantime, we shall extract, as a very favourable specimen of his style, a laboured character of Mr. Pitt from Mr. Belsham's own pen.

'This early declaration on the removal of Lord North, and the advancement of Lord Rockingham to the station of first minister, 'that he would not accept of any subordinate situation,' exhibited at once the extent and the irregularity of his ambition. In proportion as his pretensions were high, his manners were haughty. Instead of the generous feelings and noble enthusiasm of his father, he discovered a disposition selfish, cold, and artful; and it was quickly seen that he possessed no quality of youth but its presumption. In his conduct there was never found that fearless simplicity, that dignified candour, which are the genuine offspring of an elevated mind, and the true criterion of real wisdom. At no time did he display that commanding foresight which marks a superior intellect, or that controlling prudence which knows how to avert impending mischief. At no season did he endeavour to stem the torrent of public prejudice, or to make the people calm and wise, when they were inflamed and ignorant. The stream of public opinion he submitted diligently to watch; and suffered himself rather to be carried away with it, than to aim by arduous efforts to direct its course where wisdom or patriotism might suggest. The mind of the nation, under his auspices, made no advances; on the contrary, its movement was uniformly retrograde. The errors of the public, he laboured to convert to his own advantage, not to correct at the hazard of his power. He was the attentive observer of times and seasons, not the beneficent and enlightened instructer of nations. His eloquence, for which he was deservedly celebrated, was chiefly characterized by what rhetoricians call *amplification*. He possessed, in perfection, all the modes and subtleties of reasoning; and was copious even to the brink of verbosity. He had the faculty of speaking much, and saying little; and, when silence was impracticable, he knew how to make language subservient to all the purposes of taciturnity. His solemn avowals were clothed in impenetrable darkness; and his explanations were calculated equally to elude the vigilance of the watchful, and the curiosity of the inquisitive. The connexion between the means and the end, appeared seldom intimate in his thoughts, and was rarely either defined in his words, or exemplified in his conduct. The plans, therefore, which he designed, although prosecuted with courage, constancy and vigour, almost invariably

bly failed in the execution. It is remarkable, that during the seventeen years of his administration, no one act of patronage was extended to literature, to the sciences, or the arts.' p. 167–8. Vol. XII.

The work of which we are now about to take leave, professes to conclude with the treaty of Amiens; but the author ekes out his volume with a great many extraneous details, which relate to a subsequent period; and he adds an appendix, intended to record his abomination of the present war. It would be unnecessary for us to follow him through these details, having already, we presume, said enough to enable our readers to form a pretty accurate opinion of his merits as a writer of history. The factious spirit in which these volumes are written, is so apparent, as to render it impertinent to multiply observations upon the subject. The whole work is singularly confused and desultory: and, indeed, the plan which the author adopts, is altogether incompatible with that unity and coherence which is essential to history. We are willing, however, to admit, that he displays considerable ability in some of his details, and that we meet occasionally with remarks which evince knowledge and penetration. The account of the war with Tippoo is very well given, and accompanied with some judicious observations. The celebrated controversy regarding naval neutrality, is stated with great clearness; and the author's views of the subject are, upon the whole, tolerably correct. The style of the work, although diffuse and monotonous, and sometimes even laughably puerile, is, upon the whole, perspicuous and easy. But after every concession in Mr. Belsham's favour, it is impossible to allow that this motley collection has any claim to the appellation of *history*. That it will be read for some time, we do not doubt; for there are times when books of this description acquire a degree of popularity for qualities altogether unconnected with genius or merit. '*Obtrectation et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur. Quippe adulationi fœdum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest.* TACIT.

ART.

ART. XV. *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian: Drawn up according to the directions of the Committee, by Henry Mackenzie, Esquire, its Convener or Chairman. With a Copious Appendix, containing some of the principal Documents on which the Account is founded.* Constable & Co. Edinburgh. Longman & Co. London. 8vo. pp. 343. 1805.

The Poems of Ossian, &c. containing the Poetical Works of James Macpherson, Esquire, in Prose and Rhyme, with Notes and Illustrations. By Malcolm Laing, Esq. 2 vol. 8vo. Printed by Ballantyne, for Constable & Co. and Longman & Co. pp. 1211. 1805.

THIS celebrated controversy seems now to be finally at issue. Both parties have arrayed their arguments, and marshalled their proofs, so that it can hardly be expected that much will hereafter be added to the strength of either side. Although, by mingling in the approaching storm, we run the risk of a chance-blow from a Highland claymore, or an Orcadian battle-axe, our duty to the public impels us within the reach of these ancient and formidable weapons. There is one circumstance, indeed, which greatly diminishes our danger. The state of the question is very much altered since the days of Macpherson's first publication; and we believe no well-informed person will now pretend that Ossian is to be quoted as historical authority, or that a collection of Gaelic poems does any where exist, of which Macpherson's version can be regarded as a faithful, or even a loose translation; always excepting those which he himself was pleased to produce in a state entirely unauthenticated. But there existed before the times of Macpherson, a sort of general basis of tradition, on which the poems, whether collected or composed by himself, appear to have been founded. And to understand clearly the point in dispute, we will endeavour, before adverting particularly to the works under review, to state the evidence on this head.

It is allowed, on all hands, that numberless traditions were current in Ireland concerning the Fenij or Fions, a species of militia inhabiting Leinster, and commanded by Fin Mac Coul, termed by Macpherson, Fingal, the son of Combal. Among these warriors, we recognize the well known names of Goll Mac-Morn, (Gaul, the son of Morni), of Osgur the son of Oisin, the Ossian of Macpherson, of Fergus and Fillan, and other warriors; and, finally, of Ossian or Oisin himself, who lived, like Aneurin, to 'weep and sing the fall' of his deceased friends. These traditions were mingled with others concerning a different and earlier military

military order in Ulster, called the *Croabh Ruadh*, or Knights of the Red Branch. Of these, Connal Cearnach was chief, or Grand Master; but Cuchullin, or Cuthullin, was their greatest support and ornament. These two classes of heroes, their exploits, victories, and defeats, are commemorated in a variety of poems, chiefly of the ballad structure, of which there is a large manuscript collection in the university library of Dublin, and which are still preserved among the native Irish by oral tradition. Several of these were published by the ingenious Miss Brooke, in 1789, accompanied by an English poetical version.

But Fin MacComhal and Cuthullin, were not celebrated in Ireland only. The inhabitants of Argyleshire, and other districts of the West Highlands of Scotland, had also current amongst them the tales of their exploits, and that from an early period. The similarity of language and manners, together with the constant intercourse betwixt the Scotish Highlanders and the Irish, rendered the transmission of popular pieces of poetry from one nation to the other, a very simple and common event. But the Scotish editions of these songs do not uniformly represent the champions as being of Irish origin: on the contrary, Oscar and Fingal are sometimes expressly stated to be from Albin. That the one nation adopted these ballads from the other, is most certain; we will hereafter take occasion to inquire which has the best claim to them. Not only was the renown of Fingal thus preserved in Celtic song, but we also find occasional notices of his traditionary fame in ancient Lowland authors. When Bruce, the restorer of the Scotish monarchy, was defeated by MacDougal Lord of Lorn, he placed himself in the rear of his retiring bands, and checked the pursuit of the victors. 'Behold him,' said MacDougal to one of his leaders, he protects his followers against us, as Gaul the son of Morni defended his tribe against the rage of Fingal.'* This passage is from Barbour, who wrote in

* The Bruce, Book III. The particular event to which the Lord of Lorn alluded, is not now known. But both the Scotish and Irish traditions occasionally intimate, that though Gaul became the ally and friend of Fingal, it was not till after an obstinate feud betwixt their tribes, in which, according to Macpherson, Fingal's father was slain. Barbour is little satisfied with the comparison, not foreseeing the future eminence of Fingal and Gaul. 'He should rather have compared the king,' says the poet, 'to Gaudifer, protecting the rear of his army against Alexander of Macedon.' This personage, concerning whom the reader need not consult Quintus Curtius, is a hero in the *Buik of the most noble Conqueror Alexander the Grit, callit the Foray of Gadderis*, of which a curious, and probably an unique copy, has been lately discovered in the library of the honourable Mr. Maule of Panmure.

in 1375. In a sort of interlude or theatrical exhibition, written about 1525, and occurring in the Bannatyne MS. *Wealth*, an allegorical personage, is introduced in the character of a dwarf, and jocularly affirms himself to be descended from the race of giants, quoting among his ancestors 'Fin MacCoul' and 'Gow MacMorn.' Gawain Douglas also notices these Celtic heroes among other subjects of romantic fiction.

'Great Gow MacMorn, and Fin MacCoul, and how
They suld be Goddis in Ireland as men say.'

Not to multiply authorities, the songs concerning Fingal are mentioned by Boece, and by Kirk, translator of the Psalms into Gaelic, and are reprobated by Bishop Carswell, in 1567, 'as vain, tempting, lying, worldly histories, concerning the Suatha de Dannan, and concerning warriors and champions, and Fion the son of Cumhal,' &c. Finally, in maintaining the antiquity of these traditions, the Highlanders appeal to the names of their mountains, glens, and rivers, many of which are derived from those of the Fions, or followers of Fingal.

Under all these circumstances of evidence, it appears in the highest degree unjust to disallow a certain extent of foundation to the fabric erected by Macpherson. Johnson, to use his own simile, was entitled to deny that the ancient Celt swaggered in a pair of embroidered velvet breeches; but only the scepticism of prejudice could doubt his being accommodated with a tartan philabeg. There was every reason to suspect the affected sentimentality of Macpherson's Ossian; but, on the other hand, it was but natural to suppose, that a nation of hunters and warriors, as the Highlanders remained, almost to our own day,—a nation, the government of whose tribes was patriarchal, and therefore depended upon genealogical tradition,—with whom poetry was a separate and hereditary profession, and whose language is a dialect of the ancient Celtic, must necessarily have possessed much original legendary poetry.

Upon the other hand, it is believed that no patron of Celtic poetry, however zealous, will now venture to assume the high ground originally taken by Macpherson. That Fingal's exploits and Ossian's songs should ever have been adopted by the historian as guides through the darkness of the second and third centuries, is indeed wonderful; and it is pitiable to behold the learned and accurate Henry painfully pursuing his course by the guidance of such an *ignis fatuus*. To believe that Fingal gave battle to Caracalla, and that the eagles of Carausius fled behind the wall of Agricola at the approach of Oscar, is now too much even for the digestion of Dr. Smith of Campbeltown. In fact, this system of chronology was adopted by Macpherson rather inconsiderately, since

since it extends the green old age of Fingal, in the last of his fields, to the antediluvian period of a full century.* Neither do we apprehend it now to be matter of controversy, that Macpherson used numerous and undue liberties with the poems which he collected; that he added, connected, retrenched, and altered, until they formed a whole, very different in aspect from the parts of which it was originally composed. This seems to be admitted by the ablest defenders of the authenticity of Ossian; and if there remain any to whom arguments are necessary on that point, they are those on whom all argument would be thrown away.

Thus we have endeavoured to fix the points which the disputants respectively seem willing to concede. But there lies betwixt them a space somewhat narrowed, yet still ample and broad enough for all the fair play of controversy,—wide as

'Covered field, where champions bold
Wont ride in armed'——

The challenger who has stood forth upon this occasion is Mr. Malcolm Laing, well known for his historical labours. To the second volume of this gentleman's History of Scotland, he added a Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the object of which is to establish, from historical and internal evidence, that these noted productions are totally and absolutely spurious; for, although the existence of the Irish ballads on the subject of Ossian is admitted, yet it is contended, that, from these, Macpherson only adopted a few facts and names which he varied according to his own taste. The origin of the poems is imputed to the resentment which Macpherson entertained for the cold reception, his avowed production, a poem called the Highlander, had met from the public, which induced him at once to vindicate the cause of his muse, and to open his own way to literary distinction. These positions Mr. Laing has illustrated, with great acuteness of research, by passages taken from the Highlander, and from other poems, sacred and profane, which he has contrasted with parallel ideas and expressions occurring in Macpherson's Ossian.

The

* Caracalla was in Britain, A. D. 208. Fingal, generalissimo of the Caledonians, must have been then at least twenty-five years old. Carausius assumed the purple in 288, and took possession of Britain. How soon after that event Carausius visited Scotland, or whether he ever did so, we know not; but Fingal must then have been *one hundred and five* years old; and he probably did not engage the 'youthful might of Cathmor' till some years after. These absurdities are only stated to show the gross deception which Macpherson attempted to palm on the literary world. The historical blunders of Macpherson respecting these and other events, have been ably pointed out by Mr. Laing in his Dissertation.

The Highland Society of Edinburgh had, as early at least as 1797, appointed a Committee to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, by whose direction queries, very distinctly and accurately worded, were transmitted to every one who, from personal knowledge or opportunities of inquiry, was supposed capable of throwing light upon the subject. It may be conjectured, that the labours of the gentlemen of the Committee were somewhat stimulated by the publication of Mr. Laing's Dissertation, and the annunciation of another work by the same author upon a plan so uncommon as hardly to be paralleled in the literary world. The Report of the Committee having come forth sanctioned by the name of Mr. Henry Mackenzie the Chairman; there was published, about the same time a splendid edition of 'The Poems of Ossian, &c. containing the poetical works of James Macpherson, Esq. in prose and rhyme, with notes and illustrations, by Malcolm Laing.'* The notes are intended, contrary to general usage, to destroy the authority of the text. We have seldom seen a handsomer book in execution and external appearance; and truly the editor's generosity in this respect reminded us of the proposal of the Dauphin when informed of the wretched state of the English before the battle of Agincourt.

> 'Shall we go send them dinners and fresh suits,
> And give their fasting horses provender,
> And after fight with them?'

We will now endeavour to give our readers some knowledge of the present state of controversy, referring occasionally to each publication. We are the more anxious to do so with accuracy, because we really consider the question as finally at issue, and not likely to be again argued, at least by writers of the candour and respectability now in the field. As a sort of clue to guide us through the debate, and also as conveying our own ideas in words much better than we are ourselves capable of finding, we refer to the following letter from Mr. David Hume to Dr. Blair, as stating accurately, the kind of evidence which, in a case of this nature, the world is entitled to expect from the defenders of the authenticity of Ossian. Dr. Blair had, it would seem, applied to his celebrated friend concerning the reception of his Dissertation on the poems of Ossian, in which he had warmly maintained them to be genuine. Mr. Hume, in his answer, notices the general incredulity of English men of letters upon this subject, increased both by the contumacy of Macpherson who gave himself airs of refusing to satisfy any one who doubted his veracity,

* In our opinion, the meaning of Mr. Laing would have been more clearly expressed, had the title run, 'The Poetical Works of James Macpherson, &c. containing the Poems of Ossian.'

veracity; and by reflections on the extreme improbability that such long connected pieces should have been preserved by oral tradition during the lapse of fourteen centuries. He then points out the antidote to this prevailing scepticism.

'My present purpose therefore is, to apply to you, in the name of all the men of letters of this, and I may say of all other countries, to establish this capital point, and to give us proofs that these poems are, I do not say so ancient as the age of Severus, but that they were not forged within these five years by James Macpherson. These proofs must not be arguments, but testimonies. People's ears are fortified against the former; the latter may yet find their way, before the poems are consigned to total oblivion. Now, the testimonies may, in my opinion, be of two kinds. Macpherson pretends that there is an ancient manuscript of part of Fingal in the family I think of Clanronald. Get that fact ascertained by more than one person of credit; let these persons be acquainted with the Gaelic; let them compare the original and the translation; and let them testify the fidelity of the latter.

'But the chief point in which it will be necessary for you to exert yourself, will be, to get positive testimony from many different hands, that such poems are vulgarly recited in the Highlands, and have there long been the entertainment of the people. The testimony must be as particular as it is positive. It will not be sufficient that a Highland gentleman or clergyman say or write to you that he has heard such poems: nobody questions that there are traditional poems in that part of the country, where the name of Ossian and Fingal, and Oscar and Gaul, are mentioned in every stanza. The only doubt is whether these poems have any farther resemblance to the poems published by Macpherson. I was told by Bourke, a very ingenious Irish gentleman, the author of a tract on the Sublime and Beautiful, that on the first publication of Macpherson's book, all the Irish cried out, *We know all those poems; we have always heard them from our infancy*: but when he asked more particular questions, he could never learn that any one had ever heard or could repeat the original of any one paragraph of the pretended translation. This generality, then, must be carefully guarded against, as being of no authority.

'Your connexions among your brethren of the clergy may here be of great use to you. You may easily learn the names of all the ministers of that country who understand the language of it. You may write to them, expressing the doubts that have arisen, and desiring them to send for such of the bards as remain, and make them rehearse their ancient poems. Let the clergymen then have the translation in their hands, and let them write back to you, and inform you that they heard such a one (naming him,) living in such a place, rehearse the original of such a passage, from such a page to such a page of the English translation, which appeared exact and faithful. If you give to the public a sufficient number of such testimonies, you may prevail: But I venture to foretell to you that nothing less will serve the purpose; nothing less will so much as command the attention of the public.

'Becket

'Becket tells me that he is to give us a new edition of your Dissertation, accompanied with some remarks on *Temora*. Here is a favourable opportunity for you to execute this purpose. You have a just and laudable zeal for the credit of these poems. They are, if genuine, one of the greatest curiosities, in all respects, that ever was discovered in the commonwealth of letters; and the child is, in a manner, become yours by adoption, as Macpherson has totally abandoned all care of it. These motives call upon you to exert yourself; and I think it were suitable to your candour, and most satisfactory also to the reader, to publish all the answers to all the letters you write, even though some of these letters should make somewhat against your own opinion in this affair. We shall always be the more assured that no arguments are strained beyond their proper force, and no contrary arguments suppressed, where such an entire communication is made to us. Becket joins me heartily in this application; and he owns to me, that the believers in the authenticity of the poems diminish every day among the men of sense and reflection. Nothing less than what I propose, can throw the balance on the other side. I depart from hence in about three weeks, and should be glad to hear your resolution before that time.' Report, p. 6—8.

It is but justice to the Highland Society to acknowledge, that the list of queries, by which they prosecuted their researches, was formed very nearly upon the plan recommended by Mr. Hume, although it had never been communicated to them. Nor is the moderation, we had almost said the caution, of the Report itself, less remarkable than the candour of the plan of investigation.—Every topic of controversy is strictly avoided, and the argument is summed up with precision and accuracy; but the evidence is given very concisely. We could have wished that the elegant and ingenious author had himself entered more deeply into the import of the testimonies which were collected, instead of leaving us to glean it from a voluminous Appendix, compiled chiefly by the far inferior hand of the late Mr. Donald Smith.*—This reminds us of Fingal's custom of retiring to his hill, and deputing Gaul to lead in strife. They who read for amusement, and they who search for truth, have suffered equally by this untimely secession. Surely Mr. Mackenzie cannot, in this case, say, *Sat patriæ Priamoque datum!*

Upon entering into the evidence produced, we perceive at once the difficulty anticipated by Mr. Hume. The names of the heroes, and some of their more noted adventures, being deeply rivetted in the imaginations of the Highlanders, it has become difficult for them to understand that it is the fidelity of Macpherson's translation which is in question, and not the existence of traditionary

* This gentleman died after correcting the last sheet of the Appendix.

traditionary poetry respecting Ossian and Fingal. Much of the evidence produced is exceptionable, on account of this generality of expression. It is also deeply to be lamented, that many Highlanders should have attached a degree of national honour to the decision of the question of authenticity in the affirmative.—It has been unnecessarily and improperly made a *shibboleth* to distinguish the true Celt from his Saxon or Pictish neighbours: and, of course, it becomes more difficult to attain truth, in proportion as the passions take arms in the controversy. Of this species of prepossession arising from nationality felt by the author, and naturally, though somewhat comically, imputed to the adversary, the Reverend Mr. Gallie's letter to the Committee affords a whimsical instance.

'As I have not seen Mr. Laing's history, I can form no opinion as to the arguments wherewith he has attempted to discredit Ossian's poems: the attempt could not come more naturally than from Orcadians.* Perhaps the severe checks given by the ancient Caledonians to their predatory Scandinavian predecessors raised prejudices not yet extinct. I conceive how an author can write under the influence of prejudice, and not sensible of being acted upon by it.

'I stand persuaded, that Mr. Laing's arguments cannot stagger my belief in the authenticity of Ossian's poems. Before Mr. Macpherson could know his right hand from his left, I have heard fragments of them repeated, and many of those fragments I recognized in Mr. Macpherson's translation.' Report, p. 39.

It is, no doubt, impossible to convince a person who is determined *not* to be convinced, at least by a descendant of the often vanquished Orcadians; yet, if the reverend gentleman had seen Mr. Laing's work, he would have had the advantage of learning, that several passages which he proceeds to quote from Ossian, refer not to the epic called Fingal, but to its ground-work, the ballad of Magnus, concerning the authenticity of which no doubt was ever started.

In like manner, when the venerable Dr. Fergusson, a name dear to letters, mentions his having heard, in early youth, a poem recited concerning an invasion of Ireland, from which he quotes a very short passage, which he recognized in Macpherson's Fingal: this also proves to be a part of the ballad of Magnus, which was adopted as the foundation of Fingal, and partly interwoven with it. In short, so artfully has Macpherson availed himself of every scrap of poetical tradition which then floated in the Highlands, that it becomes very difficult, and almost impossible for the natives, even when as unprejudiced

* Mr. Laing is a native of Orkney.

unprejudiced as the philosophical Dr. Fergusson, to read them, without recognizing events, and even phrases, with which they were familiar in infancy; and hence arguing from a part to the whole. Were the ballad of Chevy Chace to be dilated into an Italian epic poem,* those who were desirous of ascertaining its authenticity would find no difficulty in procuring abundance of testimonies from persons who, in England, had heard it sung in the nursery. Of the thousands who hear poetry recited, we ought always to consider upon how few any thing is impressed, excepting the general turn of the story, and perhaps here and there a peculiarly striking expression; and where these are ingeniously wrought into a new composition, the memory of such persons affords them no accurate means of distinguishing it from the original. We will endeavour to point out the use which Macpherson appears to have made of the Gaelic poetry which he undoubtedly collected, that the reader may judge whether he ought to be considered as a translator, or as an original author.

The epic poem of 'Fingal' seems to be chiefly founded on the ballad narrating the invasion of Magnus the Barefooted, who made a descent upon Ireland, in which the bards represent him as being opposed and conquered by Fingal and the Fions, or Fenii. It contains about fifty stanzas of four lines, which Macpherson has dilated into six long books. The story is simply this—Magnus King of Norway arrives on the south-west coast of Ireland with a thousand barks. Fergus, the beloved son of Fingal, is despatched by his father to inquire the purpose of the strangers. Magnus demands the spouse of Fingal, and his dog, the celebrated Bran, in acknowledgment of subjection. These terms are rejected by Fingal with disdain. He encourages his chiefs to fight, and each

* In fact, we have now before us a volume, dated about 1600, in which the author has taken the trouble to convert this and sundry other venerable ditties into bombastic prose, not altogether unlike that of Macpherson. As for example: 'The bold English archers, in number 1500, were no sooner in manly readiness, but Earl Douglas appeared on the top of a steep hill, that descended into the plain whereon Earl Percy stood, mounted on a stately white steed: and his gilded armour, reflecting the dazzling sun-beams, showed very gloriously, while his valiant and worthy heroes appeared in order behind them with their glittering spears,' &c. Here we have the names and incidents of the old ballad; but the simplicity is lost in the wordy profusion of the *tranproser*. Macpherson was a scholar and a poet; his execution is incomparably superior; but his plan, where he had any Gaelic original to work upon, seems to have been very similar to that of the forgotten author of 'Pleasant Stories.'

each chooses one of the leaders of the invasion as his particular antagonist. 'I myself,' says Ossian, 'although I am feeble this night, chose the King of Terman of bloody battles, and I severed his head from his body.' The array of Magnus and of the Fions is described: 'We reared the Sun-beam upon the staff—the standard of Fingal of high renown, beautifully studded with gold and precious stones, and held by us in great esteem. Many were the gold-hilted swords. Many were the standards raised upon the poles, in the battle-array of the Son of Conchal of the Feasts. Many were the spears reared over our heads. Many a coat of mail, many a chief, many a shield, and many a breastplate; many a king's son, and many a thane; not a man without arms.'* A bloody battle ensues. The two chiefs meet and engage; their blows fall like the hammers of two smiths on an anvil; they close and wrestle; when, after a dreadful contest, in which their feet remove the stones and little bushes, Magnus falls, and is bound. Fingal generously spares his life, and offers him his choice, either to return to Norway in safety, or again to try his fate in battle. Magnus vows never again to lift his sword against his generous conqueror; and with his departure to Lochlin the poem concludes. In this sketch, the reader may perceive a rude outline of Macpherson's epic. But the introduction of the previous battle betwixt Cuthullin and Swaran, and all the details, which extend the contest to no less than six books, are unauthenticated by any Gaelic original.

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* Although we disapprove of Miss Brookes's plan of translating these poems in the English ballad style, we cannot help subjoining the following stanzas, as a pleasing specimen of the accuracy and taste of that ingenious lady.

'Before us, on the crowded shore,
Their gloomy standard rose;
And many a chief their navy bore,
And many princely foes.

'And many a proud and bossy shield,
And coat of martial mail,
And warlike arms of proof they wield,
To guard, or to assail.

'And many a sword, with studs engraved,
In golden pomp was there;
And many a silken standard waved
Its splendid pride in air.

'And many a chief in fight renowned,
Fin of the Banquets led;
And many a helmet darkly frowned
On many a valiant head.'

original. Pieces, however, are here and there inserted from detached ballads, which the translator pressed into his service. Thus we have the famous description of Cuthullin's chariot; the war-song of Ullin; the wooing of Ossian; the Maid's Tragedy,* a well-known Gaelic poem, which is the groundwork of the episode of Fainasolis and Bourbar king of Sora, and probably a poem, now imperfect, on which was founded the tale of Agandecca. All these are separate pieces, unconnected with each other, but the genuine offspring of the Celtic muse.

The 'Battle of Lora,' the next piece for which any authority has been recovered, is founded on the poem called Erragon. The incidents are related by Macpherson with considerable accuracy; the diction is as different as east from west. Of this observation the following is a sufficient example.

'Son of the distant land, who dwellest in the secret cell! do I hear the sound of thy grove? or is it thy voice of songs? The torrent was loud in my ear; but I heard a tuneful voice. Dost thou praise the chiefs of thy land; or the spirits of the wind? But, lonely dweller of rocks! look thou on that heathy plain. Thou seest green tombs, with their rank whistling grass; with their stones of mossy heads. Thou seest them, son of the rock; but Ossian's eyes have failed.

'A mountain-stream comes roaring down, and sends its waters round a green hill. Four mossy stones, in the midst of withered grass, rear their heads on the top. Two trees, which the storms have bent, spread their whistling branches around. This is thy dwelling, Erragon; this thy narrow house: the sounds of thy shells have been long forgot in Sora. Thy shield is become dark in thy hall. Erragon, king of ships! chief of distant Sora! how hast thou fallen on our mountains! How is the mighty low! Son of the secret cell! dost thou delight in songs? Hear the battle of Lora. The sound of its steel is long since past. So thunder on the darkened hill roars, and is no more. The sun returns with his silent beams. The glittering rocks, and green heads of the mountains, smile!

'The bay of Cona received our ships from Erin's rolling waves. Our white sheets hung loose to the masts. The boisterous winds roared behind the groves of Morven. The horn of the king is sounded; the deer start from their rocks. Our arrows flew in the woods. The feast of the hill is spread. Our joy was great on our rocks, for the fall of the terrible Swaran. Two heroes were forgot at our feast. The rage of their bosoms burned. They rolled their red eyes in secret. The sigh

* Of this there is a copy published in the Report, p. 95. It is one of the most popular tales of the Fions. The savage monarch who pursues the flying damsel, is sometimes said to traverse the waves on an enchanted steed; but this probably arises from some equivocal expression in the original—as the Scalds term a ship the rider, and sometimes the horse of the ocean.

sigh bursts from their breasts. They were seen to talk together, and to throw their spears on earth. They were two dark clouds, in the midst of our joy; like pillars of mist on the settled sea. They glitter to the sun; but the mariners fear a storm.

"Raise my white sails," said Maronnan, "raise them to the winds of the west. Let us rush, O Aldo, through the foam of the northern wave. We are forgot at the feast: but our arms have been red in blood. Let us leave the hills of Fingal, and serve the king of Sora. His countenance is fierce. War darkens around his spear. Let us be renowned, O Aldo, in the battles of other lands!"

'They took their swords, their shields of thongs. They rushed to Lumar's resounding bay. They came to Sora's haughty king, the chief of bounding steeds. Erragon had returned from the chase. His spear was red in blood. He bent his dark face to the ground; and whistled as he went. He took the strangers to his feasts: they fought and conquered in his wars.

'Aldo returned with his fame towards Sora's lofty walls. From her tower looked the spouse of Erragon, the humid, rolling eyes of Lorma. Her yellow hair flies on the wind of ocean. Her white breast heaves like snow on heath; when the gentle winds arise, and slowly move it in the light. She saw young Aldo, like the beam of Sora's setting sun. Her soft heart sighed. Tears filled her eyes. Her white arm supported her head. Three days she sat within the hall, and covered her grief with joy. On the fourth she fled with the hero, along the troubled sea. They came to Cona's mossy towers, to Fingal king of spears.' p. 273–78.

The original ballad tells us simply, that one day when St. Patrick had no psalms to sing, he went to Ossian's house, and asked him to tell what was the greatest danger that ever befell the Feni. Ossian answered literally thus.

'Fin, at a feast in Almhuin, in the age of heroes, forgot some of the Fions on the Red Hill, which excited their anger and resentment. "Since you did not admit us to the honour of the feast," said Maronnan of the sweet voice, "I and the noble Aldo withdraw ourselves for a year from the service of Fin." They silently, at their departure, put their shields and swords on board their ships. The two noble chiefs went to the kingdom of Lochlin of polished reins. The fair champions were for a year the friends of the king, the son of royal Conchar of sharp weapons, and Aldo who never refused a request. The Queen of Lochlin of brown shields conceived a strong passion, which she could not conceal, for long-haired Aldo of arms. With him she carried her deceit into execution, and fled from the bed of the king.'

This we are inclined to consider as a fair specimen of the manner in which Mr. Macpherson has embellished those incidents which he unquestionably derived from an ancient original; and we leave it to our readers to determine, whether such a performance can, with

with any propriety, be considered as a translation. In the original ballad there is no splendid scenery, no sentimental exclamation, no romantic effusions of tenderness or sensibility; it is a matter-of-fact statement, in which the intrigue is narrated as plainly as it would have been in a case of *crim. con.*; and the venerable Ossian tells his story of St. Patrick in the style of a half-pay officer describing his campaigns to a country parson.

'Carthon,' the next poem, is founded upon the tale of Conloch natural son of Cuchullin, who, educated in Scotland, comes to Ireland, encounters his father without being known to him, and is slain by him. Macpherson has laid the scene in Scotland, at the expense of much probability, since the vicinity is so much increased betwixt the father and son, that it appears impossible but that they must have known, or at least have heard of each other. But the evidence with respect to one remarkable passage, and Mr. Laing's answer, is too remarkable to be suppressed. The address to the Sun, with which the poem concludes, has long been among the most suspected passages in Macpherson's Ossian, as resembling extremely Satan's address to the Sun in the Paradise Lost. But in the Literary Journal, the following paragraph quoted by Mr. Laing, was calculated to remove our suspicions.

'We are happy on this occasion to be able to produce the *original* of the Address (to the Sun in Carthon,) taken down from the mouths of persons who had it from their ancestors, and who had committed it to memory before Macpherson was in existence. A copy of the address in Gaelic was taken down from the mouth of an old man in Glenlyon, by the Rev. James Macdiarmid of Weem, in 1765. Another copy of it was taken down by a Captain Morris, from the mouth of an old man in the Isle of Sky, in the year 1763, and was by Captain Morris given to the Rev. Alexander Irvine of Rannoch. Both of the old men had committed this poem to memory in their younger years. These two copies, taken down by persons unknown to each other, from the mouths of persons equally unacquainted, and living at a great distance of place, we have compared, and found to correspond almost exactly: we give the one taken down by Captain Morris, without the least variation, to the public.—As this address is attested by respectable witnesses, still alive, to have been in the mouths of the common people long before the birth of Macpherson; Mr. L. has on this occasion to find out some other imitator.'

To this positive assertion, Mr. Laing, who asserts that the son of Mr. Macdiarmid is an editor of the Literary Journal, answers, 1*st*, That Captain Morris, or Morrison, was an amanuensis of Macpherson, and obtained his copy of the address, not from an old man in the Isle of Sky, but from the papers of Macpherson himself. *as appears from Captain Morrison's own evidence.* (See Report, page 176.) 2*dly*, In respect that Captain Morrison admits his having given away a copy of this address as far back as 1780, to Mackinnon

kinnon of Glendaruel, Mr. Laing argues, that it must be inferred that the other copy belonging to the Reverend Mr. Macdiarmid was obtained directly or indirectly from the same source, and consequently, that the old man of Glenlyon, is a personage as imaginary as the old man of Sky, or the Old Man of the Mountain. And he shrewdly observes, that Mr. Macdiarmid's copy exactly coincides with one obtained from Morrison by the Reverend Mr. Irvine of Rannoch, while it differs in six lines from another copy given by the same gentleman to Glendaruel. 'It will not be now pretended,' says the critic, 'that Morrison gave one copy to Mackinnon with the variation of six distinct lines, and afterwards another, coinciding most exactly, and by mere accident, in these identical lines, with the old man of Glenlyon's version.' Upon the first of these points, concerning the old man of Sky, there is no doubt that the statement in the Literary Journal is incorrect, because Morrison has himself told us, that he got the address from Macpherson. On the second point, we have more hesitation. The affirmation that the passage was obtained from the old man of Glenlyon, is contained in a letter by Mr. Macdiarmid to his son. We do not observe that it is repeated in the course of his direct intercourse with the Committee. We believe Mr. Macdiarmid's personal character to be irreproachable, and therefore cannot refuse weight to his direct testimony. At the same time, we could have wished to have seen it fully explained and deliberately confirmed in the report.

'The death of Cuthullin.' For this piece, no Gaelic original has been discovered. We believe Macpherson to have been ignorant of a very wild Irish poem or tale on this subject, of which a translation now lies before us. It imputes the death of the hero to the arts of magic, and amidst the greatest extravagancies, contains some very striking passages.

'Darthula' is well known in the Highlands, under the name of Deirdre; but the story is materially altered, as it appears in Macpherson, and is adapted to the plan of Temora, which the author was then revolving. One of the most ancient manuscripts recovered by the researches of the Highland Society, contains a copy of this poem; and we willingly extract a part of it as a genuine specimen of Celtic poetry, of indisputable purity and antiquity.

'Lovely land is that eastern land,
Albion with all its lakes,
O that I might not depart from it!
But I depart with Naos.
Lovely is the tower of Fidga, and the tower of Fingal.
Lovely is the tower above them.
Lovely the isle of Drayno,

And

And lovely the tower of Suvno.
But, alas! the wood, the bay which Ainle would approach,
Are left by me and Naos for ever
Upon the coast of Albion.
O vale of Laith! would I were sleeping by its soothing murmur!
Fish and venison, and the choice of the chase prepared,
Would be my repast in Glenlaith.
Glenmasain! high grow its herbs, fair wave its branches,
Steep would be the place of our repose
Over the grassy banks of Masan.
O vale of Etha! where a first house has been built for me,
Delightful were its groves, when the sun risen to his height
Would strike his beams on Gleneiti.
How I long for the vale of Urchay!
Straight vale of the fairest hills;
Joyful were his companions around Naos
In Glenurchay,
Vale of Daruadh!
Pleasant to me would be each of its people:
Sweet is the note of the cuckoo
From the bending tree of the mountain
Above Glen-da-Ruadh.
Lovely is Drayno of the sounding shore!
Lovely is Avich of the brightest sand!
O! that I might not depart from it west.
But I depart with my love!' App. to Rep. p. 299.

In this extract, there are some gleams of poetry and pathos, such as usually occur in the ballads of a rude age, mixed with the repetitions and *verbiage* with which they always overlay them. But we fear the silence of the Report, is a tacit admission, that neither the Address to the moon, with which Macpherson opens his poem, nor the song of Cairbar's hundred bards, with which it concludes, and perhaps not a single passage, of any length or importance, betwixt the one and the other, are to be found in the ancient manuscript, as, on the other hand, the passage quoted from the latter, is altogether inconsistent with Macpherson's Darthula.*

'Carrick Thura.' This poem is chiefly remarkable, as containing the encounter of Fingal with the Spirit of Loda. We are favoured, in the Report, with the original Gaelic from the copy of Mr. Macpherson himself, with a literal Latin translation, which, as might have been expected, coincides exactly with the English version. But no mention of the Spirit of Loda occurs in Gaelic poetry,

* Deirdre is a Scotish woman, and the sons of Usnoth are Irish, and nephews of Cuthullin; but Macpherson reverses the country of the lady and the warriors.

poetry, saving in the very sophisticated collection of Kennedy. The name is imitated from Odin; but no one ever heard of the *Circles* of Odin, or of the Spirit of Odin, not to mention that the Northern legislature was probably contemporary with Fingal. There is an Irish ballad concerning an apparition, called the Spirit of Murartach, which came walking upon the waves to attack the host of Fin. It is sometimes called a spirit, sometimes a beast or monster, and, after making much havoc among the Fions, was, in the latter capacity we presume, slain by Fingal. This is perhaps referred to in the *Litil Interlude* already mentioned,

——— Fin MacCoul
Quha dang the Deel and gard him youl.'

'Lathmon' has, as usual, some foundation in Celtic poetry. The tale of Lammon Mor, or Lathmon the Great, begins more in the style of Macpherson's Ossian than most of the Gaelic poems. It opens with an address to Dun-Lathmon (*i. e.* the strength of Lathmon,) a hill so called, because, after having ravaged Almhuin, (the Selma of Macpherson) Lathmon fortified himself on that mountain, where he was defeated and slain by Osgur.

'Long is it ago, high eminence,
Since were seen on thy tops
The mighty host who would not yield to any,
Though thou art without house or hold to-day.'

But the reader will look in vain for the story of Lathmon, as told by Macpherson, for the night attack by Ossian and Gaul, and for all the imagery which Blair has extolled as diversifying the scenes of military carnage.

The first book of Temora, made a part of Macpherson's first publication. It seems to be founded on the poem celebrating the fatal battle of Gabhra, in which Osgur and most of the Fions were slain. The circumstances of the quarrel at the feast, Cairbar's demand of Osgur's spear, and much of the beautiful description of that hero's death, are to be found in the Cath-Gabhra. A traditionary race of heroes is often thus represented as extirpated in one unfortunate battle. The defeats of Camlan and Roncesvalles, were as fatal to the fabulous chivalry of Arthur and Charlemaigne, as that of Gabhra to the Fions. It was natural to ascribe a grand and striking catastrophe to the persons who had figured in so splendid a drama. Macpherson has, however, totally altered this conclusion, and thereby laid the foundation for the succeeding events in Temora, the composition of which he then meditated.

All these pieces, with two or three others, are contained in Macpherson's first publication. As he advanced in fame, he became more regardless of detection; and for the poems in his second volume, no genuine authorities can be found. The whole of

of Temora, except the death of Oscar, is his own composition. This seems to be indirectly admitted in the Report, p. 153, 154.

We have thus briefly noticed almost all the originals which can now be produced for the poems of Ossian. It is remarkable that they have all reference to Macpherson's first publication, in which, doubtless, he thought it necessary to preserve a certain degree of caution, and to give as much authenticity to his poems as he could, consistently with his plan of kneading them into a cake of the right leaven for the sentimental and refined critics, whom it was his object to fascinate. Every tradition or morsel of ancient poetry which he could pick up, seems to have been carefully inserted in what seemed to be an advantageous and even prominent place; so that each piece was sure to recall to the Highlander some traditionary fact or legendary story with which he was well acquainted, and which perhaps, few were displeased to recognize in a garb so different from its native and rude dress, as to interest the admirers of poetry through all Europe. The weaving a web in which truth and falsehood should be warped and blended together in inseparable union, was too material an object, for Macpherson to neglect any means to accomplish it. We should, therefore, even without the very respectable testimonies which have been brought forward by the Highland Society, have been most willing to believe that he made every exertion in his power to collect the remnants of legendary tales relating to the Fions, simply because it was his obvious interest to do so, if he meant to carry on his intended imposture with the least prospect of success. We also have no doubt that he was able to recover manuscripts, perhaps of some antiquity, containing copies of the ballads, which he afterwards wrought up into epic poems. Nay, we are willing to go a good deal farther, and to allow that Macpherson may have collected and used many original poems now lost. Indeed, as is well stated by Mr. Mackenzie, much difficulty must have arisen in the course of the Committee's investigation, 'from the change of manners in the Highlands, where the habits of industry have now superseded the amusement of listening to the legendary narrative, or heroic ballad; where consequently the faculty of remembering, and the exercise of repeating such tales and songs, are altogether in disuse, or only retained by a very few persons of extremely advanced age, or feeble health.' But still the great question remains to be solved,—Did Macpherson's translation of these poems, however numerous, correspond to the tone and spirit of the original; or were the expressions, the sentiment, the description in the greater part of them, his own; the story and the names alone adopted from the Gaelic?

On

On this point, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Laing ought to have printed with the Ossian of Macpherson, the ballads on which it is in part founded, and which are also referred to, both by individuals in the Highlands, and by the Committee themselves, as forming some of his originals. We have endeavoured to supply this deficiency, by giving extracts from them in the course of our investigation: and considering that much allowance ought to be made for the debased state of poetry preserved by oral tradition, we have endeavoured to select the most poetical passages. Still, however, the reader must have observed a prodigious and irreconcileable difference betwixt the Ossian of Macpherson and such of those ballads as come forward altogether unsophisticated. The latter agree in every respect with the idea we have always entertained of the poetry of a rude people. Their style is unequal; sometimes tame and flat; sometimes turgid and highly periphrastic: sometimes they rise into savage energy, and sometimes melt into natural tenderness. The subject of most is the battle or the chase: love, when introduced, is the love of a savage state. Ossian comes to the dwelling of Branno of silver cups, and demands his daughter in marriage: she is betrothed, without being consulted, and gives her hand to Ossian, whom she had then seen for the first time. In manners, the heroes are as rough as the ladies are frank and condescending. The wrangling which pervades their counsels, the jealousies betwixt Fingal and Gaul, are peculiar to a savage tribe; since the latter (we grieve to speak it) did not hesitate to knock the tuneful Carril upon the head for disputing with him the property of a beef-steak dressed with onion sauce; (Appendix to the Report, No. XXII.) It is surely unnecessary to contrast these barbarous chiefs with the followers of Macpherson's Fingal: there, all is elegance, refinement, and sensibility; they never take arms, but to protect the feeble, or to relieve beauty in distress; they never injure their prisoners, nor insult the fallen: and as to Fingal himself, he has all the strength and bravery of Achilles, with the courtesy, sentiment, and high-breeding of Sir Charles Grandison. But this difference is neither the most striking nor the most indelible mark of Macpherson's manufacture. He has not only refined and polished the manners of his heroes, but he has added to the tales a system of mythology, and a train of picturesque description and sentimental effusion, of which there is not the least trace in any Gaelic originals, saving those of Smith and Kennedy. The ghosts, which are the eternally recurring subject of simile and of description, we cannot trace in any of the Gaelic ballads. Macpherson was probably puzzled about his mythology, which the critics of that time thought essential to an epic poem. Christianity was out of the question, since it must have brought his heroes

to

to a later period than was convenient; and it being a matter of great risk to imitate George Psalmanazzaar, by inventing for the Fenii a new system of supernatural belief, he was forced to confine himself to the vulgar superstition concerning the spirits of the departed, common to the Highlanders with the ignorant in all nations, and which, if it promised nothing very new or striking, had the advantage of not exposing him to detection. The translator of Fingal seems indeed to have resolved, with the steward in Gay's What-d'ye-call-it, that the reader should not only have ghosts, but a plurality of them; and, though attended with great effect on some particular occasions, the frequent and useless appearance of these impotent phantoms, impresses us rather with contempt, than with fear or reverence. The situation of Ossian himself is another circumstance which Mr. Macpherson has heightened and improved, so as to produce much poetical effect. In the genuine poems, indeed, he often alludes to his age; but the frequent and pathetic reflections —those effusions of sentiment, sometimes beautiful, and sometimes bombastic, are only to be found in Macpherson's version. In the original, the Wooing of Everallin is addressed to a young woman who had refused Ossian a drink, unless on certain conditions, which the aged bard was incapable of accepting. She then applied to him the contemptuous epithet of old dog. '*He* is a dog,' answered the bard, 'who is not compliant; I tell you, wanton girl, I was once valiant in battle, though I am now worn out with years. When we went to the lovely Evir of the shining hair,' &c. This is, by Macpherson, thus happily altered and applied to Malvina, the widow of Oscar; 'a fictitious personage,' says Mr. Laing, 'for whom there is no foundation even in tradition.' 'Daughter of the hand of snow, I was not so mournful and blind, I was not so dark and forlorn, when Everallin loved me; Everallin with the dark brown hair, the white-bosomed daughter of Branno.'

We would not wish the Gaël to misunderstand us. We do not affirm that their ancestors were incapable of generous or kindly feelings; nor do we insist that their poetry, to be authentic, should be devoid of occasional sublimity, or even elegance. We only say, that the character of all rude poetry, whether in diction or sentiment, is inequality; that bursts of generosity, flowing from the feeling of the moment, and not from the fixed principles acquired in a civilized society, will always be attended by an equally capricious and irregular exertion of the angry passions. We believe it is Byron who mentions, that an Indian, who had just saved his life, was going, an hour after, to murder him for throwing away a muscle shell. The passions and feelings of

of men in a savage state, are as desultory as their habits of life; and a model of perfect generosity and virtue, would be as great a wonder amongst them, as a fine gentleman in a birth-day suit. Neither is it a sufficient answer, that Ossian may have exaggerated the virtues of his countrymen, as is ingeniously urged in the Report, p. 150. Ossian, however gentle or generous his natural disposition, can hardly be supposed to have formed for his countrymen an ideal standard of perfection, depending on a refinement drawn from the internal resources of his own mind, and inconsistent with all he witnessed around him. We might also have expected to have met with some peculiarities respecting the manners of the ancient Celts, in genuine poems of the length of Macpherson's. But, alas, what hints of this kind occurred in the original ballads or legends, were rejected by the fastidious delicacy of their translator; and what is substituted in their place, is obviously drawn from sacred or classical poetry. Thus, the daughters of Morven mourned for Lorma one day in the year, as the daughters of Israel mourned yearly four days for the victim of Jephthah's vow; and, we fear, no better authority than the fables concerning the passage of the Styx will be found for the ghosts hovering on the Lake of Lego, until the song of the bards had dismissed them to the winds. 'The honour of the spear' is also mentioned, and explained as a tournament, when the natives of Argyleshire were strangers to the use of horses, except for draught, as the rest of Europe were to the Tourney, which certainly was not introduced before the 10th century.

The elegant author of the Report has, in opposition to these arguments, produced specimens of Celtic poetry supplied by Dr. Smith of Campbelton, with the following observations:

'This publication by Dr. Smith, if not impeached in its authenticity, your Committee cannot but regard as very strong evidence in the question submitted to its consideration and inquiry; since, in the poems published by him, are to be found not only the same strain of high and impassioned poetry, but also the same delicacy and refinement of sentiment and feeling which form so extraordinary a feature in the poems translated by Mr. Macpherson. Of some passages of one of those poems, 'the Death of Gaul,' the Committee will give a literal translation, which they think inferior to none of those given by Macpherson, either in sublimity or tenderness.'

Of the specimens which follow, and which are exceedingly beautiful, and fully equal to the best of Macpherson's poetry, we select the Bed of Gaul.

'Prepare, ye children of musical strings,
The bed of *Gaul*, and his sun-beam by him.
Where may be seen his resting-place from afar,
Which branches high overshadow,

Under

Under the wing of the oak of greenest flourish,
Of quickest growth, and most durable form,
Which will shoot forth its leaves to the breeze of the shower,
While the heath around is still wither'd.
' Its leaves, from the extremity of the land,
Shall be seen by the birds of summer,
And each bird shall perch, as it arrives,
On a sprig of its verdant branch.
Gaul in his mist shall hear their cheerful note,
While virgins are singing of *Evirchoma.*
' Until all of these shall perish,
Your memory shall not be disunited;
Until the stone crumble into dust,
And this tree decay with age;
Until streams cease to run.
And the source of the mountain waters be dried up;
Until there be lost, in the flood of age,
Each bard, and song, and subject of story,
The stranger shall not ask, ' Who was *Morni's* son!
Or where was the dwelling of the king of Strumon?' Rep. p. 67.

Of this poem Mr. Macdiarmid has also furnished the Committee with a copy. But this passage of the Bed of Gaul, Mr. Laing treats as '*a well known fabrication, which assuredly the author himself would not now, as a christian and as a clergyman, venture to attest upon oath as authentic.*' Mr. Laing has not favoured us with the grounds for so positive and direct a charge against Dr. Smith. On the other hand, that gentleman himself does not, in his communication with the Committee, discover great zeal either in vindicating the originality, or defending the poetical merit of the poems he collected. He complains of the neglect with which his Gaelic poetry was treated by the public, and seems to have forgotten, or to be little desirous of recollecting any thing upon the subject. This challenge will, however, probably call him forth. If Dr. Smith makes the proposed attestation, Mr. Laing will see ground to repent having committed himself on so bold an averment. If not, we shall be decidedly of opinion, that the Doctor is a very elegant poet; and we hope he will find a better employment for his verses than to paper closets, a use to which he applied the last copy of his book; a copy of more service to him, he says, than all the others. It is but proper to add, that the extracts from the Death of Gaul, to which Mr. Mackenzie refers, are not only uncommonly beautiful and pathetic, but are in a much chaster style of beauty and pathos than is characteristic of Macpherson's poems; circumstances which we think in favour of their authenticity.

The poems collected by Kennedy, a schoolmaster in Argyle-

shire, labour under yet stronger marks of suspicion. The collector communicated some of them to Dr. Smith, who candidly states,

'On my observing the beauty in one or two of the passages in one of those poems, I forget which, the person who gave it me as an ancient poem, said these were of his own composition. This assertion I placed then to the account of his vanity; but I think it right to state it to you as I had it, and leave you to think of it what you please.' App. to Rep. p. 89.

The Highland Society have purchased Kennedy's manuscripts; but we think it strange, considering the compiler is still alive, that no inquiries seem to have been made how far he is now disposed to affirm or retract what he averred to Dr. Smith. There is, no doubt, much ancient poetry in his collection; for much is authenticated from other authorities; but, in such suspicious circumstances, we should like to have learned whether, and in what degree, they are interpolated. There is in the Appendix a comparison of poems, which appear under the same title in Miss Brookes's collection and Mr. Kennedy's. The first is that of Conloch, as to which it is *not* mentioned that it is the original of Macpherson's Carthon, however different in structure and diction;* the second is that of Manos, or Magnus; the third that of Moira Borb. In all these the narrative of Kennedy is longer, the diction less simple, and garnished more profusely with those flowers of sentiment which Macpherson had taught the public to consider as the genuine attribute of Ossianic strain. We cannot help regarding these poems as in a very suspicious state. According to the averment of Kennedy to Smith, they do contain interpolations: and they come before us altogether unvouched and unsifted, not even certified by the evidence of the person by whom they were collected. Kennedy's situation in life has been alluded to; and it is asked how imposture and forgery should become *Muses* to such a man? But let us reflect how many Scotish rhymers arose from the lowest ranks, animated by the fame of the Ayrshire Ploughman, and then consider whether the far more splendid success of Macpherson was less likely to be a source of inspiration, in a country where romantic scenery and natural enthusiasm are themselves a sufficient impulse to poetic talent.

Hitherto we have considered the general evidence arising from Gaelic ballads of unimpeached authenticity, and the collateral arguments drawn from the certainty, that poetry was early current among the Highland tribes, and that some which has been

* In many respects this would have been an injudicious admission; for it seems this is not a poem of Ossian, but the joint production of a bard called Gilcolm, the son of a physician, and of an anonymous continuator.

been recovered, equals, in sentiment and beauty, the translations of Macpherson. But our readers may ask, have no originals been discovered, nothing approaching nearer to the poems of Ossian as translated into English, than the rude strains of Deirdre, Cath-Gabhra, and the other legendary ballads which we have enumerated? We may be further asked, are there no manuscripts of antiquity and authority, and what has become of those to which Macpherson and others have referred in the controversy?

To the first of these queries, we return the answer of the Report, '*That the Committee has not been able to obtain any one poem the same in title and tenor with the poems published by Macpherson.*' A poor substitute, unworthy of the liberality which pervades the Report itself, has been resorted to in the Appendix, which we have already noticed as the production of a less impartial and less able pen than that of Mr. Mackenzie. We describe it in the words of Mr. Laing, which, though stern and harsh, are but too applicable to this disingenuous expedient.

'Instead of complying with this plain and pointed requisition, the Committee of the Highland Society employed the late Dr. D. Smith, to collect such passages from their MSS. as might bear, or acquire, a remote affinity to Macpherson's Fingal. For this purpose, thirteen or fourteen *modern* manuscripts were taken, containing many hundred pages, and consisting of different collections of Earse and Irish poems. From this extensive range, between twelve and fifteen hundred detached lines are selected, and pieced together, with the most preposterous diligence, in order to present to the reader, by dint of translation, something like the plan and outlines of Fingal. No intimation is given of the particular songs or poems from which they are taken; but the references to the different pages of the MSS. are as desultory as the lines themselves are unconnected and detached. For instance, the three first lines, concerning Daol watching the ocean, (as if the same with Moran, the scout of ocean,) are taken from Kennedy's Collection, p. 78, st. 8. the eight next lines, (a part of the Irish ballad of Garribhe Mac Stairn.) from Fletcher's, p. 183, stanzas 1st, and 13th; the three succeeding lines from Fletcher's, stanza 2d; and the six last lines of the first page, are taken from the four different pages and stanzas of the following manuscripts; Mr. Maclaggin, p. 91, l. s. 3. Kennedy, p. 154, st. id. p. 130, st. 5. id. p. 154. st. 3. Six successive lines in the same paragraph, are often taken from four or five different pages of different manuscripts; and in a single page (248) twenty-two lines are taken from fifteen different pages of ten separate and distinct manuscripts. This, if practised in any other language than Earse, would be termed fabrication.' Pref. p. 44—46.

This curious piece of Mosaic or patch-work, was likened, in our hearing, to the expedient of Brother Martin in the Tale of

a Tub, to discover authority in his father's will for wearing *shoulder-knots*, which, not being expressly mentioned, he sought first *totidem verbis*, then *totidem syllabis*, and all failing *totidem literis*. If this effort of ingenuity proves any thing, it only shows what a very slender proportion, even the scraps of Gaelic poetry, actually collected by Macpherson, bore to the whole he has produced, and from how many different sources he has been obliged to compose this *Cento*, called an epic poem. If he sought in twenty different poems the materials of a few pages, from how many others must the rest have been selected, supposing it not to be his own production?

As to manuscripts, none have been discovered, which have any claim to antiquity, bearing relation to the poems of Ossian. The ancient manuscript, already quoted, containing Deirdre, only serves to show, that Macpherson, in converting the story into that of Carthon, manufactured a ballad, written by another bard, into a tale of Ossian. That Macpherson collected, and was possessed of several manuscripts, is proved by sufficient evidence. What they contained is absolutely unknown; for none of them are now to be found among his papers; nor has any one who saw them been able to ascertain their contents. Their being now destroyed, is certainly a presumption that they contained nothing to support his translation, or rather, that he was apprehensive of their being contrasted with it. Some ancient manuscripts have been recovered by the researches of the Committee, chiefly the produce of cloisture leisure, which probably was not often thus occupied, as one amanuensis avowedly breaks off for lack of ink. But nothing of Fingal, Temora, or any of the long compositions which Macpherson represented as so popular, have been found in manuscript, any more than in oral tradition. The only manuscripts, therefore, are those of Macpherson himself, who doubtless composed in Gaelic with the same or greater facility than in English.

Much stress is laid by the Gaelic critics on the antiquity of the poems ascribed to Ossian, as they have been found fairly written out in Macpherson's own hand. We do not pretend to understand the Gaelic; but it requires only common sense to observe, that those who make this observation have no *data* upon which to found it. The ancient MSS. in the Highlands are few, and the character unintelligible, unless to perhaps a dozen of scholars, to whom they have generally been inaccessible. On what grounds, then, have the gentlemen, who use this argument, formed their opinion upon the antiquity of the dialect used by Macpherson? And will they affirm themselves less open to imposition, with their slender opportunities of detection, than those hoary antiquaries

antiquaries, who, having made the early language of England the object of their daily investigation, with written specimens before them of its progress in every stage, were grossly duped by Chatterton, a beardless stripling of seventeen? Nothing is more easy than to smoke into antiquity the mere language of a poem, if a man is sufficiently acquainted with the history and manners of the age to which he would refer it, or, like Macpherson, is contented to set those circumstances at defiance. We dismiss that general testimony, which is too often hazarded without recollection, with this observation, that though the particular subject to which it refers, be supposed obscure, yet there are general rules which must apply to it, as to all others. It is astonishing how warm feelings of enthusiasm have led the most respectable characters in this controversy to affirm, from internal conviction gratuitously adopted, what they could never have satisfied themselves of by their own actual labour and research.*

Ossian's poems, edited by Mr. Laing, prove in a striking manner, how far an active, eager, and keen disposition will carry a man of learning and talents in the pursuit of a favourite, although apparently an inadequate object. The arguments contained in his original dissertation, preface and general notes, did not appear to him sufficient to secure 'the triumphant satisfaction of having detected the imposture.' He was determined to hunt him down in all shapes; and accordingly has gone through a mass of poetry, enough to serve any six gentle readers for their lifetime, with the sole purpose of pointing out every passage which occurred to him as parallel to an expression of Macpherson's. We fear, that, in this perusal, the poets must have afforded Mr. Laing as little amusement, as the Bible gave instruction to him who read it through, in order to learn how often the conjunction *that* occurred

* An ingenious lady, herself no mean poetess, volunteered her testimony upon the authenticity of Ossian's poems, and argued learnedly upon the mode of their preservation during the lapse of so many centuries. Her evidence is referred to by the Committee. The same lady describes the battle of Killycranky, as an engagement 'betwixt a body of Highlanders, led by Viscount Dundee, and King William's troops, commanded by General Mackay, where *both* leaders fell; and the victory remained with the *latter*, after a great havock among the Highlanders, many of them men of note, who still continue to live in grateful song. We suppose the bards, who celebrated the battles fought in the *Rin Ruaradh* 'in numberless heroic ballads,' are answerable for the inaccuracy of the ingenious Mrs. Grant, but if such is their account of events, which happened about a century ago, we must decline trusting them at the distance of 1600 years.

curred in scripture. But he doubtless found a substitute in the exercise of his own ingenuity, in discovering the plagiarisms of Macpherson, and tracing them to the fountain head. Be his motives or amusements what they may, Mr. Laing has hunted every simile or marked expression of Macpherson, with the staunchness of a blood-hound.

——————'On he fares,
As when a gryphon through the wilderness,
With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
Pursues the Arimaspian.'—

The images of Macpherson, Mr. Laing chiefly refers to Homer, Virgil, and their two translators; Milton, Thomson, Young, Gray, Mason, Home, and the English Bible. We present the reader with some specimens of the extent and acuteness of Mr. Laing's critical researches.

'But sit thou on the heath, O bard, and let us hear thy voice. It is pleasant as the gale of spring, that sighs on the hunters ear: when he awakens from dreams of joy, and has heard the music of the spirits of the hill?' Laing's Ossian, Vol. I. p. 176, 177.

Upon this passage, Mr. Laing makes the following remarks.

'*Let us hear thy voice. It is pleasant as the gale of spring, that sighs on the hunter's ear.*] Why compared with the gale of spring, when the hunter has heard the music of the spirits of the hill; instead of being directly compared with the music itself which the hunter had heard? The music might resemble the voice of Carril; but the gale of spring could hardly be pleasant on awaking from dreams of joy. The explanation of the incongruity is this, that the whole simile is a concealed and happy imitation of the most select passages, respecting music, in Shakspeare and Milton.

"It is *pleasant* as the *gale of spring*, *that sighs* on the *hunter's ear*, when he *awakens* from *dreams* of *joy*." *Twelfth Night*, A. i. S. 1.

'O, it came o'er my *ear* like *the sweet south*,
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odours.'

Merchant of Venice, A. iii. S. 2.

'Such it is,
As are those *dulcet* sounds at break of day,
That *creep* into the *dreaming* bride-groom's *ear*.
And *summon* him to marriage.'

"And has *heard* the *music* of the *spirits* of the *hill*.' *Par. Lost*, v. 544.

'Thy words
Attentive, and with more *delighted ear*.
Divine instructor, *I have heard* than when
Cherubic songs by night from neighbouring *hills*,
Aërеal *music* send.'

'And

'And from the combination of these passages, the voice of Carril is compared, not directly to the music of spirits, but to the gale of spring, that *breathes* or *sighs* upon the hunter's ear, when he awakens with dulcet sounds, like the *dreaming* bridegroom, from *dreams* of joy, and has heard the aërial *music* of the spirit of the hills.' *Supra*, i.

Again, Vol. I. p. 101, 102.

'*Fingal*, tall *in his* ship, stretched *his* bright *lance before him.*] *Æn.* x. 161.

Stans celsa in *puppi ; clypeum* cum deinde sinistra
Extulit ardentem.'

"*Terrible* was the *gleam* of his *steel :* it was like the green *meteor* of *death, setting* on the heath of Malmor, when the traveller is alone, and the *broad moon* is *darkened in heaven.*" Id.

'Ardet apex capiti, cristisque a vertice flamma
Funditur, et *vastos umbo* vomit aureus *ignes :*
Non secus, ac liquida si quando *nocte cometæ*
Sanguinei lugubre rubent, Sirius ardor :
Ille sitim *morbosque* ferens mortalibus ægris
Nascitur, et *lævo contristat lumine cœlum.*

The following striking resemblances are also pointed out.

'*Like the* darkened moon, *when she moves a* dun circle *through heaven, and* dreadful change *is expected by men.*] MILTON, *Par. Lost*, i. 596. 'Or from behind the *moon*,
In *dim eclipse*, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with *fear of change*
Perplexes monarchs; *darkened* so, yet shone, &c.

'But the dreadful change expected by men was suppressed in the first edition, to conceal the imitation of Milton's *dim eclipse*, "the *dun* circle of the *darkened* moon." Laing's Ossian, Vol. I. p. 75, 76.

'*On the rising side of Cromla* stood *Erin's few sad sons, like a* grove *through which the* flame *has rushed*, &c.] Distant, *withered, dark they stand*, &c. as restored in the edition of 1773: From Milton, *Par. Lost*, i. 611. 'Yet faithful how they *stood;*
Their glory *withered* as when heaven's *fire*
Hath scathed the forest oaks, or mountain pines,
With singed top their stately growth, though bare,
Stands on the blasted heath.' Laing's Ossian, Vol. I. p. 76.

These examples are taken at random; but the plagiarism is sufficiently obvious, particularly in the two last instances. Mr. Laing adds the following general remarks.

'The imitations, when pointed out, are so gross and obvious, that we are only surprised how they could have imposed upon the world so long. The secret consisted in the measured prose which the translator adopted, and brought to its perfection; and from the novelty of which, the public was unable to recognize its own poetry when clothed in prose sublime, and transformed into bombast. His first heroic poems, the Hunter and the Highlander, written while he "served his apprentice-

ship

ship, in secret to the muses," are almost professed imitations. But when he undertook to produce an epic poem from the original Earse, it was necessary to proceed with the rapidity of translation; to resort to other poets for images: to avoid every allusion to the arts and manners of more refined society; and above all to disguise his imitations, and to conceal the real sources from which his poetry was derived. Similes from beasts of prey were easily avoided, as the common-place of heroic poetry; and modern criticism, or the study of Scripture, had taught him that abstract ideas were little known to the earliest writers. Yet in reading his expressions particular, as in Homer, or in giving his ideas a local relation, as in Scripture, the false refinement of modern imagery prevails throughout: the gale of spring *sighs* like a zephyr on the hunter's ear, and Lochlin's blustering wind *speaks* aloft in all the shrouds. It is observable that the similes in Fingal, with the exception of the two fawns, the swan, and the whale, from Milton, are almost all derived from inanimate objects,—the storms, torrents, waves, vapours, and flames, for which the Iliad was ransacked; nor, till these were exhausted, did the author venture to introduce either the fallen oak or the eagle, which recur so frequently in the subsequent poems. The expedition with which he afterwards translated the Iliad, in three months, could have proceeded only from an early and familiar acquaintance with Homer; but the similes, and other imitations in Ossian, are drawn from such various sources, and are so redundant, that the original passages must have been previously treasured up in a common-place book, instead of being supplied by the author's memory as his occasions required.' Laing's Ossian, Vol. I. p. 207. 208.

While we give Mr. Laing credit for acuteness in every instance, and accuracy in most, we must remark that his ingenuity has occasionally led him to trace resemblances altogether remote, and even fanciful; an error perhaps as incidental to this species of criticism, as to the derivations of etymology. It is our duty to point out one or two instances in which we think Mr. Laing has been misled by his own ingenuity.

'*When* mariners *on shores unknown, are* trembling *at* veering winds.] An alteration of Milton, not inserted in the first editions. *Par. Lost*, iv. 558. 'And shows the *mariner*

From what point of his compass to *beware*
Impetuous winds.' Laing's Ossian, Vol. I. p. 67.

In this instance, we cannot see any foundation for the charge of plagiarism. There is a *mariner* and *winds* in both passages; but surely Milton having pourtrayed his sailor as watching the impetuous winds, is quite consistent with another poet, who never heard of the Paradise Lost, having described the natural anxiety of a seaman on a lee shore; a figure, perhaps, the most obvious which can occur to any one at all acquainted with navigation. In another instance, the sons of Lochlin are said to 'rise, rustling like a flock of sea-fowls, when the waves expel them from the

the shore.' This simile Mr. Laing traces to Virgil:

'*Aut ad terram gurgite ab alto*
Quam multæ glomerantur aves'——
'Or fowls, by winter forced, forsake the floods.'

The sea-fowl are *feræ naturæ* and their use in poetry as free and as obvious to the Celtic poet as to Virgil. Indeed, we find the expression in Kennedy's version of the ballad of Magnus; 'There men followed along the hill, to conquest or death, like a flight of sea-fowl.' The resemblance of a tumultuary tribe to a flock of sea-mews is likely to occur to every one of the least imagination. In like manner, a Gaelic poet might have told how 'we sate and heard the sprightly harp at Lubar's gentle stream,' although he had never heard of the children of Zion weeping by Babel's stream, and hanging their harp on the willows. A ghost travelling in a whirlwind, is said to be copied from Macpherson's own poem of the Highlander. But, that fairies and supernatural beings do so travel, is an ancient Celtic belief, found in Ireland as well as in the Highlands. (See Appendix to Castle Rackrent.) We could point out many other instances in which Mr. Laing has rather overshot his purpose, in imputing as plagiarism to Macpherson what is owing to the natural coincidence of sentiment common to mankind all over the world. Were it our object to deter any youth from poetical attempts, (and, Heaven knows, there are few we would encourage in them,) perhaps a more disheartening work could hardly be put in their hands than Laing's edition of Ossian's Poems. The young poet would learn from the perusal, that it is not sufficient that his ideas should be original in themselves, and even that none of the ancients (as the Frenchman heavily complained) should have stolen his fine thoughts, since he would find himself excluded and debarred from touching upon any topic which had been already treated, how differently soever, by any of his predecessors. Nay, by the spirit of some of Mr. Laing's extreme cases, we should think it very possible to convict Chaucer of pilfering from Homer, or Hafiz of imitating Horace and Tibullus. It is easy to vary description; but sentiment and passion must always be uniform. Or, in the words of Dryden,

'*Shows* may be found that never yet were seen;
'Tis hard to find such *wit* as ne'er has been.'

From the examples which we have quoted, the reader will see it is by no means our purpose to extend this censure to Mr. Laing's critical labours in general. He has detected many gross plagiarisms in the very strictest sense of the word, besides a variety of cases of coincidence and resemblance, so striking as to show, that if the author did not recollect or intentionally copy the authors the critic has cited, his mind was so fully imbued with their spirit, that

that even his own thoughts and expressions assumed the shape of theirs. Enough has been traced to this purpose, even were other proof wanting, to establish in us the irresistible conviction, that the writer of Ossian's poems was habitually familiar with modern poetry. This conclusion we do not draw, so much from the direct depredations on the ancients, (for with these Macpherson might have thought it necessary to adorn the simplicity of his original,) as from the whole turn of thought, style, and expression, which if admitted to be modern, leaves nothing behind it that is worth vindicating as original. The style in which Mr. Laing has conveyed his criticisms, is always concise and pointed. His expressions are occasionally a little peremptory, and sometimes tinged with more acidity than the subject seems to us fully to warrant. The leading features of his speculations are, more ingenuity than fancy, more severity than indulgence, and a hearty zeal for his cause, which occasionally leads him to lay equal weight upon very unequal arguments.

Mr. Laing has published, with the poems of Ossian, several pieces of English poetry by Mr. Macpherson. Some of these, particularly two, called *Death* and the *Hunter*, are from a manuscript in possession of the Reverend Mr. Anderson of Kingusie, by whom, with commendable liberality, they were communicated to Mr. Laing. The first is a string of verses, as dark and lamentable as the subject, in which there is little meaning, and much bombast. It must have been written in early youth, and shows Macpherson to have been no stranger to the florid effusions of Hervey, whose measured prose he afterwards deemed the fittest medium for the factitious version of Ossian. The *Hunter* is the rude sketch of a poem which he afterwards published under the title of the *Highlander*. The story of this last piece is sufficiently simple. An unknown youth arrives at the Scotish camp, when the Danes have made good a descent upon the coast. It will be readily anticipated that he becomes the principal hero in the ensuing battle; is discovered to be the lawful heir of the Scotish crown; marries a beautiful princess, and reigns in peace and glory. The language of this commonplace tale is full of those descriptions of natural scenery which were impressed on Macpherson's mind by his residence in a romantic and mountainous country, and which few poets have either conceived so warmly, or painted so well. As to the rest, the versification is very indifferent, and the language always inflated. The same talent for describing nature may be discovered in another of Macpherson's early poems, entitled the Cave, which we copy at length as a favourable specimen of his talents for English poetry, and an instance how early he indulged the Ossianic vein of sentimental and natural painting.

'The

'The wind is up, the field is bare;
Some hermit lead me to his cell,
Where Contemplation, lonely fair,
With blessed Content has chose to dwell.

Behold! it opens to my sight,
Dark in the rock; beside the flood;
Dry fern around obstructs the light;
The winds above it move the wood.

Reflected in the lake I see
The downward mountains and the skies,
The flying bird, the waving tree,
The goats that on the hills arise.

The grey-cloaked herd drives on the cow;
The slow-paced fowler walks the heath;
A freckled pointer scours the brow;
A musing shepherd stands beneath.

Curve o'er the ruin of an oak,
The woodman lifts his axe on high,
The hills re-echo to the stroke;
I see, I see the shivers fly.

Some rural maid, with apron full,
Brings fuel to the homely flame;
I see the smoky columns roll,
And through the chinky hut the beam.

Beside a stone o'ergrown with moss,
Two well-met hunters talk at ease;
Three panting dogs beside repose;
One bleeding deer is stretched on grass.

A lake, at distance, spreads to sight,
Skirted with shady forests round,
In midst an island's rocky height
Sustains a ruin once renowned.

One tree bends o'er the naked walls,
Two broad winged eagles hover nigh,
By intervals a fragment falls,
As blows the blast along the sky.

Two rough spun hinds the pinnace guide,
With lab'ring oars, along the flood;
An angler, bending o'er the tide,
Hangs from the boat th' insidious wood.

Beside the flood, beneath the rocks,
On grassy bank two lovers lean;
Bend on each other amorous looks,
And seem to laugh and kiss between.

The wind is rustling in the oak;
They seem to hear the trend of feet;
They start, they rise, look round the rock;
Again they smile, again they meet.

But see! the grey mist from the lake
Ascends upon the shady hills;
Dark storms the murmuring forests shake,
Rain beats,—resound a hundred rills.

To Damon's homely hut I fly;
I see it smoking o'er the plain;
When storms are past,—and fair the sky,
I'll often seek my cave again.' Laing's Ossian, II. 613.

From these and other Juvenile poems of Macpherson, Mr. Laing has not failed to derive considerable aid, by comparing the ideas and Expressions contained in them with many which occur in Ossian's Poems.

We hasten to conclude an article already too long, with some account of the impression left on us by these rival publications. From the Report of the Committee, we learn there are many Gaelic poems in their possession, collected during their fruitless attempt to recover the originals of Ossian. We sincerely hope they will be given to the public, with a literal and careful translation, executed under the superintendance of the gentlemen who have interested themselves in the cause of the Celtic muse. Such a collection, whose authenticity will be ascertained by the names before it, must probably contain much that is interesting as poetry, certainly many curious circumstances of manners, and perhaps even of history. Many great chieftains retained their bards till within half a century. Why should not their verses be collected where judged worthy of preservation? Many poems are announced as contained in MSS. recovered by the Highland Society. Why should not these, whose authenticity is established by written evidence, be given to the public? We hope the Committee will prosecute their labours, and extend them on a wider besis. Why should the whole fame of Highland poetry be made to depend upon Ossian alone, whom, after all, the Highlanders claim as a countryman on very obscure and dubious grounds?* We have no

* We intended to have investigated this question more fully; but we have only time to make these general remarks. The Irish traditions respecting the Fions are uniform and consistent; those in the Highlands, that is, such as really do float there, are much more vague and inconsistent with each other. No Highlander ever heard of *Selma* except through Macpherson; but every old Irishman pointed out Almhuin

no doubt that a faithful translation would be acceptable to the literary world, which of late years have received, very favourably, attempts to preserve ancient poetry of far inferior interest and merit. Let us therefore hear no more of Macpherson, whose last preface sufficiently intimates his own claim to the renown which had attended his supposed original. Dismissing this question entirely, we would earnestly recommend a general selection of Gaelic poetry, upon the plan of Miss Brookes, excepting only that the translations should be made in prose; a condition, however, from which we will willingly release the Chairman of the Committee, should *he* be pleased to gratify the public by undertaking the task.

Of Mr. Laing's criticism, we take the liberty to say, that the impression they have made on us has been involuntary, and that he has, as it were, carried his point by storm. We were never believers in Ossian to the extravagant extent demanded by Macpherson; yet we long cherished the pleasing belief that much of his translation, perhaps more than one half, was authorized by an authentic original. Nor did we think that we were *very* credulous, since thus far we had the countenance of Mr. Pinkerton himself. But the result of the Committee's inquiries, by which, though much ancient poetry has been collected, not one poem of

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huin (Allen in Leinster) as the abode of Fingal. Many of the Irish poems, such as Magnus, Cath-Gabhra, &c. in which the claim of Green Erin to the Fions is maintained, are current in the Highlands; but in no such poem, in manuscript, or traditionary, is there a hint given of their being Scotishmen. Irish history mentions them explicitly, and narrates their rise and fall: in Scotish history they were never heard of, save where slightly mentioned as subjects of legendary lore by Boece; for even that fabler never dreamed of a pretension which would have jammed Fingal, Comhal, Trathal, Trenmore, and heaven knows how many car-borne chiefs besides, into the middle of his royal genealogy. Gawain Douglas calls them Irish gods. Above all, Macpherson was ignorant of the real history of the colony of the Dalriads, or Irish Scots, who possessed themselves of a part of Argyleshire in the middle of the third century; an indubitable fact, inconsistent with his whole system. But it is highly probable that the Fions occasionally visited Scotland, and engaged in her wars. Hence, perhaps, their general renown through the Highlands, which we are still more inclined to abscribe to the prevalence of the tales concerning them. Mountains and streams are frequently named after the heroes of romance in a neighbouring country, whose fame has extended to that in which they are situated. We have, in Scotland, as many places called after the British Arthur, as the Irish Fingal has attached his name to in the West Highlands.

of the celebrated Ossian has been recovered—the avowal of Macpherson, when he drops Ossian and talks of himself, his own genius, and his own improvements—and finally, this elaborate work, in which more than a thousand resemblances, coincidences, and plagiarisms are pointed out, compels us to allow, that the poems of Ossian, as translated by Macpherson, bear the same relation to the original legends, that the Tragedy of Douglas does to the Ballad of Gil Morris. But, while we are compelled to renounce the pleasing idea, 'that Fingal lived, and that Ossian sung,' our national vanity may be equally flattered by the fact, that a remote, and almost a barbarous corner of Scotland, produced, in the 18th century, a bard, capable not only of making an enthusiastic impression on every mind susceptible of poetical beauty, but of giving a new tone to poetry throughout all Europe.

ART. XVI. *A Dissertation on the best Means of civilizing the Subjects of the British Empire in India, and of Diffusing the Light of the Christian Religion throughout the Eastern World; which obtained Mr. Buchanan's prize.* By the Rev. William Cockburn, A. M. Fellow of St. John's College, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 4to. pp. 48. Deighton, Cambridge. Rivington and Hatchard, London. 1805.

WHILE we admire the truly oriental liberality of Mr. Buchanan in exciting the industry and emulation of our Universities, we cannot help doubting, whether the subject proposed by him for the English essay was very judiciously chosen. The discovery of the means by which the civilization of a people may be advanced, is the great problem, which it is the business of all legislation practically to solve, and a problem which has staggered the mightiest masters of political wisdom. The difficulty, however, of solving it, is considerably increased in a case like the present. India is a country little known to Englishmen in general, and, least of all, we should think, to Englishmen removed from the bustle of public life, and cloistered in the abodes of science and literature. Even the little which such persons may be presumed to know of that remote dependency of our empire, cannot be of a practicable or a *producible* kind. The gleanings of information which they may have collected respecting it, are reposed in their minds, rather like exotic rarities in a museum, than as merchantable wares intended for use and circulation. In addition to all this, it may naturally be supposed, that

that the candidates for such prizes as those of Mr. Buchanan, will usually belong to the *juvenile* class of academics, a description of characters not the most likely to have qualified their literary or philosophical studies with an infusion of Indian politics.

On a dissertation proceeding from such a quarter, upon such a subject, it is pretty evident that our demands should be moderate; nor must we be disconcerted at discovering it to be tolerably fertile of errors, and perhaps of contradictions. Even the narrative or historic sketches which it contains, are not likely to be accurate, but will probably exhibit all those defects which usually disfigure the hasty designs of an unpractised pencil. At the best, it may be presumed, that the facts detailed will seldom be viewed in their just light, or turned to the greatest account. Instead of being scientifically classified, and (if we may so speak) accurately *sized*, we may expect to find them tossed together with little judgment, and with little reference to their mutual bearings, or their comparative importance. Still less, perhaps, is it to be expected from the reasonings than from the facts. To say the least, we can look for nothing in this department that is very profound or systematic, nor please ourselves with the prospect of any masterly elucidation of the principles by which the policy of Great Britain, with respect to her Oriental dominions should be regulated. On the contrary, we must be prepared to meet with opinions hastily, and, perhaps, imperfectly drawn from casual sources; opinions of various authority, not very patient of coalition, and rather shaken together by force, than combining spontaneously by virtue of their respective affinities.

All this, we say, is to be expected in an academical disquisition on the subject proposed by Mr. Buchanan; and if therefore we add, that all this, or something very like it, is to be found in the Essay before us, we hope we shall not be accused of disrespect, either to its author, or to that learned body, who, by publishing it without correction, have acquiesced in its errors. In truth, we are willing to censure the subject much more than either the essayist or the judges. We will not, indeed, say that, considered either as an exhibition of general talent, or as a mere piece of writing, this production is quite worthy of the celebrated University whose approbation it has received. But we wish to speak tenderly of it in these respects, and shall therefore confine our strictures almost entirely to such of its defects as may be ascribed to misinformation on points immediately connected with its main subject. Of these we shall now produce a few samples. Should we ourselves, in the course of our examen, be any where chargeable with mistakes similar to those that we shall expose, (which

(which, however, we trust, will not be the case,) this will only be a fresh proof of the difficulty of the questions at issue; and we must cheer ourselves, like the poet, with the thought of having a companion in error—*qualcs ego vel Clwienus.*

Our learned essayist begins his dissertation with some general reasonings, of which (as far as in us lies) our readers shall remain for ever ignorant. He then proceeds to remark, that nothing can be more injurious to the peace, and therefore to the increasing civilization of India, than the growth of *small* states on that continent; and on this subject he thus admonishes our 'Indian governors.'

'Whenever the termination of war, or other accidents, leave them at liberty to make new arrangements with respect to territory, let them avoid, if they wish for peace and increasing civilization, the formation of small states, even though those states be in some measure dependent on themselves. With this impression, I cannot sufficiently applaud the use made by Lord Wellesly, of our complete successes in the Mysore in the year 1799.

'The territory of Tippoo was ours by right of conquest. A part which added much to our security, but little otherwise to our aggrandizement, was retained; whilst the rest of the spoil was offered to the Nizam and the Poonah Mahrattas, the two states already the most powerful in the peninsula of India.' p. 10.

We cannot help admiring, here, the convenient ambiguity of the word 'offered;' and at the same time cautioning the gentle reader against the supposition, that the land which was *offered* on this occasion, was necessarily *given*. The fact is, that the whole of the above extract comes true (as the saying is) *by the rule of contraries*. At the period in question, *no land at all* was given to the Mahrattas; some was indeed *offered*, which Mr. Cockburn might think *enough*, but which they thought *too little;* and the matter ended in their having *none*. The Nizam fared better for a time; he actually received some territory, but was soon persuaded to resign it to us, in lieu of a pecuniary subsidy which he had formerly stipulated to pay for the maintenance of a body of British soldiers at his capital. Finally, a small tract of country was erected into a principality under the Rajah of Mysore.

Thus, then, the 'use made of our complete successes in 1799,' and which this author 'cannot sufficiently applaud,' has been, that the Nizam and the Mahrattas, those 'two powerful states,' are left without a *single rood* of the conquered territory between them; and that, in the principality of Mysore, we have *actually* set up one of those 'small states,' the formation of which our Indian governors are to 'avoid, if they wish for peace and increasing civilization.'

Next,

Next, our author strongly recommends to his countrymen in the East the policy of assisting, as far as possible, the established governments in their neighbourhood against usurpers. Usurpers, he says truly, are ever restless.

'The old hereditary monarch, sitting securely on his father's throne, and enjoying his high dignity without fear of any rival, wishes not to risk a situation so pre-eminent, by engaging in doubtful wars and dangerous attacks upon the similar establishments of his neighbours.

'Upon principles, then, of the soundest political wisdom did Marquis Wellesley enter into the late contest. He protected the old Nizam, and strengthened his power against the too potent union of the Mahrattas; facilitating, at the same time, the accession of his son to an hereditary throne: while our well disciplined troops, acting under the sanction of the defensive treaty of Bassein, entered Poonah, not as enemies or plunderers, but as protectors of the inhabitants, and as allies of the degraded Peishwa, whose authority had first been usurped by the ambitious Scindia, and afterwards completely destroyed by the adventurous and daring Holkar. In the same spirit of excellent policy, and with the same success and glory, did General Lake, on the northern quarter of Hindostaa, rescue the venerable Emperor of Delhi from the tyranny of the same Scindia, and the more dangerous influence of that aspiring and subtle Frenchman, M. Perron.' p. 10, 11.

It is really to be hoped, that the character of Lord Wellesley for 'sound political wisdom,' and that of Lord Lake for 'excellent policy,' do not altogether depend on the accuracy or inaccuracy of this statement; for, unless we are much mistaken, these four sentences contain at least four considerable errors. *First*, Lord Wellesley never dreamed of 'entering into the late contest,' for the purpose of protecting the old Nizam against the Mahrattas. In truth, the Mahrattas, according to the Noble Lord's own representation, were actuated solely by a spirit of hostility towards the British government; they even invited the Nizam to a close alliance with themselves; and at last menaced him with an attack, only because they could not detach him from our friendship. The Nizam, therefore, was no more the cause of the war than the Dey of Algiers, nor was he indebted to the enmity of the Mahrattas for our 'protection,' but to our protection for the enmity of the Mahrattas. *Secondly*, The same remark applies to the succession of the Nizam's son, which there would have been no occasion to 'facilitate,' had not the war already broken out; because no Mahratta would have attempted to disturb it. *Thirdly*, The treaty of Bassein can no more be called a *defensive* treaty, than a treaty between the Emperor of Russia and Louis the XVIII. could be called defensive, in which his Imperial Majesty should engage to restore the King of France to the throne of his fathers. *Fourthly*, Lord Lake never thought of restoring 'the venerable

Emperor of Delhi' to 'a hereditary throne.' Every one knows that this fallen potentate has been restored only to personal liberty, and to a few trappings of external splendour; and this, if we do not deceive ourselves, is expressly stated by Lord Wellesley in the papers laid before the House of Commons. In this situation, it must be owned that the 'wars' which this 'old hereditary monarch' may feel disposed to wage with his neighbours, will probably be somewhat more than 'doubtful;' and the 'attacks' he may make upon them will be singularly 'dangerous' to himself, as he comprizes in his own person both the general and the army.

Our author comments at some length on the political views of the native powers of Hindostan, and details the principles by which our conduct with respect to them should be guided. We are now concerned, not with his reasonings, but with his facts; and we must say that this writer, who could perhaps draw a map of Alexander's march, or of the retreat of the ten thousand, on a scale of an inch to a minute, might easily be outdone in his sketch of the political geography of India, by many a strolling *Fakier* on the banks of the Ganges. This is a heavy charge; and therefore 'to the proof!'

'By supporting him (the Peishwa), and rendering the Musnud hereditary in the family of the present possessor, another object will be attained; the danger of the whole Mahratta state falling under the government of one prince will be prevented. At the present, the Rajah of Berar has some claim, from family descent, to the throne of Sattarah: the establishment of this claim might be fatal to our existence in India, as it would render him more than a match for us and all our allies. . . . . It is therefore evidently important that Poonah and Berar should continue in separate hands.' p. 11.

This is inaccurate; for, *first*, it is not true that, if Poonah and Berar were to be governed by the same person, this person would be the governor of all the Mahratta states. At the most, he would govern only two parts out of four. Where is Scindia? Where is Holkar? Mr. Cockburn indeed asserts, that these two chiefs 'have little individual power.' We on the contrary assert, that, though they yield the titular *precedency* to the Peishwa, they would disdain to treat with him on any other than the most independent grounds: and to prove that their individual power is of the first order among the Mahratta states, we need only refer to the India gazettes for the last two years. In effect, their dominions are no more governed by the Peishwa, than Prussia is governed by the Emperor of Germany.

Still farther—The Rajah of Berar, to do him justice, has hitherto laid no claim to the throne of Sattarah. The case we believe

lieve to be as follows. The Rajah of Sattarah is the nominal head of the Mahrattas; his power, however, is delegated (as our author expresses it) to the Peishwa as his prime minister; but, in fact, though apparently delegated, it is virtually *extorted*. In the Peishwa's family, this power is now hereditary; and the Rajah of Berar lays claim, not to the princedom of Sattarah, but to the office of Peishwa; a claim this, not of law, but of equity, and founded on his relationship to the titular prince of Sattarah.

'Its (India's) immense territories are divided among several mighty states. The two principal Rajahs of the Mahrattas, the Nizam, the British government, the Nabobs of the Carnatic, and of Oude, and the Seiks, possess almost the whole of this peninsulated country.' p. 12.

An Orientalist, who surveys this picture, will not be a little appalled by the 'gracious figures' of those two departed worthies, the Nabobs of the Carnatic, and of Oude. Seriously, we can assure our author that these two 'mighty states' *are both nonentities*. The Nabob of the Carnatic is now a mere stipendiary of the British government, without the shadow of territorial power; and his Highness of Oude is hardly mightier, having been melted down nearly to the condition of a mere Zemindar. We need hardly add, that the ruin of these principalities has been the aggrandizement of the British dominions. So much have things altered since Guthrie's Grammar was first published! Again—

'All the various invaders (of India) have entered through the Panjab: and even now, on the north of the Attuck, is a powerful kingdom, governed by Timur, the warlike son of the great Ahmed, the victorious hero of Paniput: upon him they (our governors) should keep a jealous eye.' p. 13.

There is only one objection to this piece of advice; and that is, that this powerful prince, 'the warlike son of the great Ahmed, the victorious hero of Paniput,' *died about twenty years ago!* Not only has this chief departed this life, and is therefore never again likely, we should hope, to 'push us from our stools,' but his son Zemaun Shah, who succeeded him, is also dead; and late reports state that his powerful kingdom (once it *was* powerful) is become a prey to intestine contests, the object, not of jealousy, but of compassion.

'While we continue our alliances with the sovereigns of Poonah and of Hydrabad in the true spirit of peace, and while the Seiks and the Great Mogul have an interest in being our friends, the French can have no hopes of exciting even a disturbance in Hindostan.' p. 13. 14.

'Look where it comes again!' But of the Great Mogul and his shadowy importance, we have already spoken. The reader

will therefore readily admit that this monarch has indeed a very great 'interest in being our friend,' but, at the same time, that we need not greatly concern ourselves whether he is our friend or our enemy.

There are many minor objections to the fidelity of Mr. Cockburn's *politico geographical* sketch; but the discovery of them may be left to the reader. For these, as well as for the faults which we have mentioned, we again say, that, though some blame is doubtless imputable to the author, and perhaps rather more to the examiners, yet both are less guilty than the subject. Had Mr. Buchanan proposed to the University some inquiry connected with the notices that the classics have left us of ancient India, Mr. Cockburn and his judges would probably have felt themselves much more at home, and we are convinced they would have acquitted themselves better. Indeed, it is not easy to convey to a reader unacquainted with Indian politics, and subdued by the plausible sound of hard names, the effect which is produced on the mind of a tolerably competent judge, by such mistakes as an English academic is likely to commit, when treating a subject so foreign to all his habits of thinking and of reading, as that of the present dissertation. To comfort us with the prospect that the Nabobs of the Carnatic and of Oude will be our friends, to advise an alliance with the Great Mogul, and to caution us against the son of 'the victorious hero of Paniput,' sounds much the same as if a memorial addressed to the present Emperor of all the Russias were to run thus: 'Sire, I trust you will ever find those mighty monarchs, the Kings of Poland and of Norway, your friends; I also strongly recommend to you a close intimacy with that powerful prince the Cardinal York; but, by all means, beware of that gunpowder neighbour of yours, Charles the Twelfth, the collateral descendant of the great Gustavus, the victorious hero of Leipsic!'

We shall now hazard a few thoughts on the line of Indian policy which Mr. Cockburn recommends to his country; and the sum of them is, that the expedience of this policy appears more than questionable. He enjoins a perpetual and restless interference in the concerns of all our neighbours in Hindostan, without recollecting that such a system of interference must inevitably lead us to a system of encroachment and conquest. He talks of justice in general terms; but the only test by which he tries his plans in detail, is the prospect of advantage to this country. Supposing it to be true (which it is not) that the Mahratta states, if consolidated under one head, would overmatch 'us and all our allies,' why must we therefore be always intriguing and sowing jealousies among those states, to prevent such a consolidation?

Is it not a previous question, how far a particular prince has a *just right* to the empire of the Mahrattas, before we resist his claims merely from a regard to our own interest?

We are aware how easy and how common it is to condemn our system of foreign policy in India, and to talk in vague generalities of Roman ambition and Roman policy; but is the case of the Romans here inapplicable, because it occurs to every body? To interfere actively in the domestic affairs of all other states; to regulate the succession of their governors; to take part in every quarrel; to claim the lands of one party for assisting him, and seize the lands of the other after beating him: to get allies by force, and take care that nobody shall rob them but ourselves; to quarter troops upon our neighbours, and pay them with our neighbour's goods; this it is what we call *Roman* policy: whether it be *English* policy in any part of the globe, let the world judge. Rome held the stakes to every game of war that was played throughout the hemisphere; and the suspicious circumstance is, that, whoever lost or won, she never failed to gain something.—Is there no similar ground of suspicion in the East? While Tippoo is despoiled for befriending the French, and the Nizam is despoiled for befriending the English; while Holkar is despoiled for beating the Peishwa, and the Peishwa is despoiled for being beaten by Holkar, who is it that is enriched by befriending and beating them all?

In one respect, however, we trust that the parallel to which we have alluded, will never be completely filled up;—we trust that those of our countrymen who may have been seduced into Roman schemes of conquest abroad, will never be *honoured with a triumph* at home, nor permitted to suspend in temples of British structure, those inauspicious trophies which can be regarded only as the spoils of British reputation.

We are aware of the danger of French influence in India. But let us here discriminate a little. Do we not know something of M. Perron, and of his predecessor in the service of Scindia? Do we not know that they were mere soldiers of fortune, and intent chiefly on emolument? Do we not know that they have constantly remitted their gains to Europe through English channels, thus giving us an indirect pledge of their good conduct? Do we not know, finally, that in point of fact, after the commencement of hostilities, between Scindia and the English, M. Perron seized the first decent opportunity of retiring from the service of his Mahratta employers, of placing himself under our protection, and of repairing to Calcutta, whither his fortunes had found their way before him? In whatever degree M. Perron might be connected with the ruling powers of France, that connexion was only subsequent

sequent to his acquisition of influence in the service of the Mahrattas. From this, and from several other causes, particularly from the pecuniary holds which bound him to the goverment of Calcutta, his connexion with France might have been presumed to be weak and precarious; and the readiness with which it has been dissolved, demonstrates that such a presumption would have been well-founded. French influence, we again admit, is a real cause of alarm; but then, like all other real causes of alarm, it may easily be turned into a bugbear. Let us not be always running as if 'the Pope and the Pretender' were at our heels, or crying out that 'the Great Turk is come as far as Whitechapel!'

In the fourteenth page of this dissertation, we were surprised to find a note, in which Mr. Cockburn condemns the third article of the treaty of Bassein, and which we cannot quite reconcile with the text, nor indeed altogether with itself. We say this in wonder, not in censure; for we are too well pleased with some of the doctrines contained in this note, to treat it rudely; and we hesitate not to pronounce it worth many pages of the Dissertation.

Let us now direct our attention to this author's sentiments on the system of jurisprudence established in British India. Here, too, his information is not superlatively correct, as the reader will soon discover.

'Not venturing at first to alter the laws in their infant colonies, they (the first British settlers in India) endeavoured to bend themselves as much as possible to the purposes of justice. With this view the Nizamut Adawlut was established at Moorshedabad, and certain regulations introduced, to fix the principles of legal proceedings.' p. 16.

This is not true; for, *first*, so far from being established by the *English*, the Nizamut Adawlut was a native court; *secondly*, so far from being established by the English at *Moorshedabad*, it was transferred by the English from Moorshedabad to Calcutta. The history of this removal is, we believe, briefly as follows. The administration of criminal justice had been left in the hands of the Nabob of Bengal, as the wreck of his prerogative; and the Nizamut Adawlut (a title parallel in its meaning to the *King's Bench*) administered justice immediately under his eye. In process of time, however, the scandalous manner in which the judicial power was abused by the Nabob's officers, forced the assumption of it by the British under Lord Cornwallis. It was accordingly transferred to the East India Company in the form of a delegation from the Nabob, and from that time the Nizamut Adawlut has sat in Calcutta.

'Acbar divided the empire (of Hindostan) into soubas or provinces, and appointed soubahdars his viceroys, giving them absolute power in their governments, with a responsibility only to himself. . . .Rome, on

on the contrary, in the time of her free government, though her Proconsuls were absolute in the provinces, made them accountable to her Senate (*vide* Cic. *ag.* Verres:) and in like manner our Governor-general is absolute in India, but accountable to the Parliament of Britain,' &c. &c. p. 17.

This passage contrasts together the provincial systems of ancient Rome, of the Mogul Court, and of Great Britain, and completely misrepresents all the three. We will consider them in the order of chronology.

The short sentence about the *regime* of the Roman provinces, affords two instances of inadvertence, and one of mistatement. The case of Verres is quoted as proving that a proconsul, though absolute in his province, was accountable to the Senate. Now, first, Verres was no *Proconsul*, but a *Prætor;* next, Verres, to whomever accountable, was neither impeached by the Senate, nor tried by the Senate, but impeached (if we may so speak) by the Sicilians, and tried by a select body of Judges, many of them indeed of Senatorian rank. These are, we grant, but slight errors; errors which a little inadvertence may commit, and which it requires but little reading to detect. We grant also that, in substance, the authority of a Prætor might be nearly the same with that of a Proconsul. But the third error is of more consequence. Though on a classical question we differ with trembling from the University of Cambridge, the ordeal of whose examination this essay has passed, yet we cannot help thinking that the provincial governors of Rome, by whatever name called, were *not* generally 'absolute.' We need go no farther than Adam's Roman Antiquities to learn that, in their judicial character, they were obliged to associate with themselves a number of *Judices;* and, if Mr. Cockburn is content to join issue on the case of the *Proconsul* Verres, we know that Cicero repeatedly reproves the Quæstor Cæcilius for not having availed himself of his official power to resist the exactions of that tyrant. Take one specimen: 'Eras enim tu quæstor; pecuniam publicam tu tractabas; *ex quâ, etiam si cuperet prætor, tamen ne qua deductio fieret, magnâ ex parte* tua *potestas erat.*'

With regard to the provincial institutions of the Moguls, Mr. Cockburn gives us, at least, *one* misstatement. The Mahomedan viceroy was *not* absolute in his province. On the contrary, he possessed no power over the Dewan or minister of finance, who was responsible to the Emperor alone. A considerable jealousy often prevailed between the Soubahdar and the Dewan. On this subject we will present our readers with a curious anecdote, which, while it furnishes an instance of the jealousy to which we have alluded, strikingly exemplifies the vigilance and vigour which distinguished,

distinguished, in its best days, the Mogul government. One of the sons of the renowned Aurengzebe was Soubahdar of Bengal, and mortally hated Jaffier Khan, who held the office of Dewan in the same province, and discharged the duties of that office with the most loyal fidelity. The hatred of the prince at length became so violent, that he made an attempt to assassinate Jaffier Khan, in which however he was unsuccessful. Aurengzebe, who was minutely informed of every event that occurred in the provinces, instantly wrote to his son these striking words: 'If Jaffier Khan dies *even by a natural death*, I will make you accountable for it.'

We have seen that neither the provincial governors of Rome nor the Mahomedan viceroys were absolute: we have now to make the same assertion of our Governor-general in India. Not to mention the obvious circumstance, that the judicial power in that country does not flow from the Governor-general, it is only necessary to remind the reader that the government is not vested in the Governor alone, but in the *Governor and Council*. It is only on extraordinary emergencies, and with great formalities, that the Governor, interposing his single responsibility, can order any measure in opposition to the opinion of his Council; and, even in these cases, *the exception proves the rule*, the order always running in the name of the whole government.

The golden canon which our author here delivers, is, that we ought to increase, as much as possible, the number and power of the *native* judges. He quotes 'an eminent writer' (so eminent, it seems, that his name is not to be lightly mentioned,) who asserts, that the natives are entitled to the judicial power 'by the most solemn treaties,' and therefore pronounces that it should not be taken 'from their acknowledged chiefs.' All this we shall meet, by submitting to Mr. Cockburn the four following questions.

Does he know *whom* he means to designate by the title of *native* judges? If he means them to be *Mahometan* judges, does he remember that these are the very men strongly charged with venality and corruption by an author whose opinion, we doubt not, he greatly respects? (Diss. p. 17.) If he understands them to be *Hindoos*, then what is become of those 'acknowledged chiefs,' from whom the English 'took the judicial power?' And, in fine, is it not true that the Hindoos are no less venal than the Mahometans?

Hitherto, as we have seen, our learned dissertator has spoken in a very complimentary style of our countrymen who have swayed the destinies of British India. He has declared himself to be mightily impressed 'with a conviction of the great political abilities

lities of those who regulate the affairs of India.' (p. 8.) He 'could not sufficiently applaud' the sound 'political wisdom' of Lord Wellesley, and the 'excellent policy' of Lord Lake, who seems *to yield to brave Leodamas alone.* He has told us, that great pains have been taken, of late years, to 'improve the laws and municipal regulations' of British India, and to 'place them on such a foundation as to afford the greatest protection to the persons and property of all classes of society;' (p. 15.) that the first 'British settlers endeavoured to bend' the laws they found in India, 'as much as possible, to the purposes of justice,' (p. 16.) and much more to the same effect. Finally, he has informed us, that, on the whole, 'the constitution of British India is not hostile to civilization.' (p. 17.) But now 'the moon changes;' and, through the rest of his composition, the author is not a little severe on the whole of our Indian system. A few extracts, taken in combination, will give a pretty exact view of his reformed doctrines on this subject.

'The more splendid, then, the Court of the Governor-general, and the larger his *expenditure*, the more will the manufactures of India flourish, and its civilisation increase—Instead of increasing his salary, let the East India Company, in the most liberal manner, support an establishment the most splendid: let him live while in India with magnificence: instead of impoverishing, this will only enrich his empire.' (p. 18.)

'The nomination to places of great trust and importance in that country, is in the hands of Europeans: they bestow these lucrative situations upon their own relatives and friends, who go forth to the East with no other object than to enrich themselves by its plunder, and on their return to revel in its wealth: they consider India as a country in which they are only passengers, and with whose interest they are unconcerned. While the wealth and power of a country are placed exclusively in such hands, what hopes can be formed of its rising high in the scale of civilization?

'Every one knows that schools and colleges, large towns, public edifices, and good roads, add rapidly to civilization; but who will undertake such improvements in Hindostan? The power of that country is almost entirely employed in amassing wealth; and that wealth is uniformly expended in another quarter of the globe.' (p. 19.)

'Why are the British youth sent to the East Indies at so early an age? The Directors have already passed a law to prevent any from going out as *cadets* till they have arrived at the age of fifteen. Why do they stop here? Let them enact, that no European shall succeed to any situation of importance in India, who leaves this country before he has attained the age of twenty-one.' &c. &c. p. 38.

'The eager desire of wealth, the anxious hope of returning to Britain at an early age, and the sight of those who are already returned, prompt

prompt the thoughtless schoolboy to embark with alacrity for those golden realms.' p. 39.

'It would be invidious and unbecoming to point out the particular ill conduct of those who have filled important situations in British India. Their rapacity, their injustice, and their contempt of religion, are subjects of common notoriety,' &c. p. 37.

The courteous reader will bear us witness, that we attempted to moderate a little the feelings of delight with which this author, in his first pages, contemplated the policy of Great Britain in India; especially with respect to 'the ambitious Scindia,' and 'the daring Holkar.' Since now the fit is over, and since a writer, who before could see nothing 'in the constitution of British India,' 'hostile to civilization,' now asks, 'what hopes' there are, while its present constitution continues, 'of its rising high in the scale of civilization?'—Let us see whether we cannot apply a few weights to the opposite scale. The lassitude which succeeds a paroxysm, may be often removed by the timely application of a cordial.

And here let it be premised, that we have no intention of discussing the general merits of the peculiar system of Indian administration adopted by this country. That system, considered in itself, we shall neither praise nor dispraise; but we really cannot permit writers, necessarily ignorant and inexperienced, to dogmatize on these great questions. The battle will never be fairly fought until the lists be cleared of all intruders.

Our learned essayist has not always given us the means of ascertaining how much he knows on the subjects of which he writes. For instance, several acts of Parliament have been passed to regulate the administration of British India; yet, whether Mr. Cockburn ever heard of these acts or not, he leaves us to conjecture; for he does not once mention them, while he evidently, though obliquely, blames the Legislature for *not* 'interfering' in the regulation of our Asiatic possessions. But as ignorance is better than perverseness, and as *reasoning wrong from right premises* is the worst possible symptom of a man's intellect, we readily believe that Mr. Cockburn has never heard even the titles of these acts of Parliament. Happily, this conjecture is confirmed by the sentence in which he apprizes us, that 'the Directors have already passed a law to prevent any from going out as *cadets* till they have arrived at the age of fifteen;' mistaking an *act of Parliament* for a law passed by the Directors!

The Directors, however, have not only the credit of passing laws, but also of nominating their friends 'to places of great trust and importance' in India. But, with submission, this sort of patronage is not exercised by the Directors, but by the Governments

vernments of that country. No doubt the Directors, in concert with his Majesty's Ministers nominate the Governors themselves; and these, as we have seen, they have sometimes chosen, very much to the satisfaction of Mr. Cockburn. In the mean time, the appointment of civil officers is, for the most part left to the Governor for the time being; to Lord Wellesley, whose wisdom this writer 'cannot sufficiently applaud;' or to Lord Cornwallis, whose solid abilities, and judicious administration, will command the applause of all posterity.

But who (says Mr. Cockburn) will undertake such improvements, as making roads, or building cities and colleges in Hindostan? We really do not know who *will* undertake them, but we know who *has* undertaken them, and we know too who has written of them, and told us of the civilized 'city' of Calcutta, (Dissert. p. 27.) and the 'noble and judicious institution' of 'the college' at Fort-William. (p 38.) With respect to good roads, it cannot be pretended that Bengal, in this article of luxury, vies with the regions of Europe, nor is it probable that she will ever do so, considering her great opportunities of water-carriage, and the devastations which her roads must sustain in the rainy season, when whole tracts of country are completely deluged. Yet she is by no means destitute of very tolerable roads; otherwise the Directors' friends, 'who go forth to the East with no other object than to enrich themselves by its plunder,' would find it a hard business to convey their booty to the port of embarkation.

We too lament, like our author, the 'rapacity,' the 'injustice, and the 'contempt of religion,' but too visible, not in British India only, but throughout all countries. Alas! the world abounds with 'instances of successful vice, and opulent depravity.' But when these expressions are appropriated, by way of distinction, to our countrymen in the East, or to any body of men, it becomes us to receive them with caution, though they bear the *imprimatur* of a learned University. Let us then examine, whether, in his remarks on this topic, our author be quite consistent with himself.

The chief grievance is, that 'thoughtless schoolboys' go forth to plunder the East; that, eager to enrich themselves, they 'hasten their return to their native country;' and that thus 'the wealth of India is uniformly expended in another quarter of the globe.' Now schoolboys, we grant, are apt to be 'thoughtless' and romantic enough. We will allow, too, that schoolboys sent abroad will be more likely to run riot, and take liberties, both with themselves and with others, than schoolboys kept in England. More than this, we will admit, for a moment, that all the

schoolboys

schoolboys sent out to India, embark with the deliberate purpose of accumulating wealth with the greatest rapacity, and yet of husbanding it with the greatest parsimony, that they may return, youthful and opulent, to their native land. And what then? Must they not be 'wondrous boys,' to keep this their resolution? Is it not a necessary consequence of their being young, thoughtless, and free, that much of their gains will be expended in the country where they were accumulated? Nay, is it too much to expect that such characters will occasionally deviate into generosity, at least, if not into justice? Will none of them find their account in giving encouragement to Asiatic industry and ingenuity? We own that the 'thoughtless boys' we have chanced to meet with in this country, (and there are too many of them in all countries, both at school and at college,) have very seldom discovered such a steely and self-denying rapacity, as our author attributes to these young friends of the Directors.

But now, to all our concessions, let us add one more; let us suppose these wicked boys to be, in inclination, all that they are represented in this essay;—to be at once rapacious and penurious tyrants. Are there no laws to protect the natives? What is become of those 'municipal regulations,' framed 'in the true spirit of British freedom,' of which this author himself has spoken? where are those unremitting efforts, on the part of the 'British settlers,' to effect all 'the purposes of justice,' and to 'protect the persons and property of all classes of society?'

To be serious—We are not panegyrizing our young countrymen in the East, but merely vindicating them from the hasty and ill-digested aspersions of our young countrymen at the University. Of the irregularities which deformed the earlier years of our sovereignty in India we say nothing. Of the system of foreign politics, which has sometimes been adopted by our Indian governors, we have said enough. The question now is, Whether the internal administration of our Asiatic possessions, after all the reforms of Lord Cornwallis and others, be really so corrupt, profligate, grinding, and detestable, as it appears in the portrait given of it by the present writer. In justice to the exalted character just mentioned, as well as to the rest of our European brethren beside the Ganges, we declare our conviction, and we triumph in the contemplation, that the internal economy of our Asiatic dominions has been, of late years, wonderfully improved; that instances of rapacity are now extremely rare; and that, on the whole, the general administration of British India is as pure as that of any part of the British empire. Indeed, there is one presumptive proof of this amelioration, which is obvious to the plainest understanding; the actual term of residence of our countrymen

countrymen in the Indian service is known to be now seldom less than twenty years.

We have not room to notice particularly Mr. Cockburn's doctrine, that expenditure is the great parent of industry, and that the luxury 'which is often faulty in the individual, becomes, under certain limits, the nurse of civilization.' The reader, who wishes to see the arguments in support of this doctrine, may consult the Fable of the Bees; or, if he has no inclination to search for them there, he will find them stated, and tolerably well refuted, in the Minute Philosopher, we shall only say, that this doctrine is to be considered, rather as a perversion of truth, than as radically erroneous, and that its fallacy cannot be better exposed than by the project ironically started in the book last mentioned, *burning down London*, by way of rousing this whole nation to unexampled exertions of manufacturing industry.

The gentle reader may possibly inquire why we have bestowed so much space and time on the consideration of the thesis before us. We answer, for three reasons; 1*st*, Because we delight to indulge ourselves in the contemplation of the important subjects which it suggests to our minds; 2*d*, Because we were fearful that the sort of authority, with which this production has been ushered into the world, might give a currency to its errors; 3*d*, and lastly, Because we were willing to expose the danger which authors incur, by venturing on the investigation of questions for which they are totally unfurnished. However imperfectly we may have succeeded in the attempt to convey to our readers some original information on the state of our Asiatic dominions, we are, at least, sanguine enough to believe, that we have proved the subject of this thesis to be considerably removed above the grasp of our English academies, and that those who may honour these strictures with their perusal, will beware of receiving their impressions, on matters connected with modern India, from men who are much better acquainted with Porus and Sandracottus, than with Holkar and Scindia. At the same time, prolix as this article may appear, we take some credit for our forbearance in not still farther extending it; as the *catalogue of Mr. Cockburn's mistakes*, which we have exhibited, might have been *doubled* with the utmost facility.

The style of the Dissertation, which we are just about to close, is usually of that species which does not particularly challenge criticism; without ornaments—and not ambitious of them; poor —and content. Occasionally, however, that sort of fine writing is attempted, which consists in yoking a spare epithet to every substantive, and in such clauses as this, 'Bloody was his march, and rapid and resistless,' &c.

Art.

ART. XVII. *Reflections on the Commerce of the Mediterranean; Deduced from actual Experience during a Residence on both Shores of the Mediterranean Sea, containing a particular Account of the Traffic of the Kingdoms of Algiers, Tunis, Sardinia, Naples and Sicily, the Morea, &c.; With an impartial Examination into the Manners and Customs of the inhabitants in their Commercial Dealings, and a particular Description of the British Manufactures properly adapted for each Country; shewing also the Policy of increasing the Number of British Consuls, and that such Advantages may result to the English, by holding Possessions in the Mediterranean, as nearly to equal their West India Trade.* By J. Jackson, Esq. F. S. A. Author of the Journey over land from India. London, Clark. pp. 222. 8vo. 1805.

THIS is a book of a very useful class. It contains the results of a practical man's experience in a most important pursuit, and is immediately addressed to those who are disposed to engage in the same line of occupation. When the employment of capital is daily becoming more difficult from its accumulation, and when there seems reason to dread that, ere long, some very wide channels will be shut up which it now occupies, mercantile men are under no small obligations to those who suggest new sources of profitable speculation, and furnish not only a general outline of the spot where the gains may be reaped, but a chart of the route which leads to it. The only legitimate encouragements to commerce, indeed, consists in the diffusion of such valuable information; and though no one can be sanguine enough to expect that publications of this sort will produce their effects directly, by engaging a considerable body of capitalists to embark in the proposed adventures, yet it is clear that they lead ultimately to the same consequence, by tempting one or two speculative individuals to follow the new line of trade, which soon becomes sufficiently attractive from the obvious consideration of their success.

Mr. Jackson's book is full of details which have every appearance of accuracy, and are related without any affectation. The reasoning which occupies but a small proportion, is in general correct. A number of curious facts, interesting in a speculative point of view, may be gleaned from his statements; and though the style, as well as the arrangement of the materials, bespeak an author little practised in the art of composition, the air of simplicity and plain sense which characterize the whole book, would atone for greater literary defects. We purpose to give an abstract of the general positions most dwelt upon in the course of it, and a few specimens both of the more speculative information above alluded to, and of the manner in which our author has delivered his practical lessons.

That

That the commerce of the Mediterranean in general could occupy a much greater capital than is at present embarked in it, may be made apparent by a variety of considerations. It will be sufficient to mention the high rate of the profits which this trade now yields. Our author asserts that the gain is frequently thirty and forty *per cent.* from port to port along the coasts of the sea, and for very short voyages. The different nations which surround it have a decided preference for dealings with English merchants, and for British manufactures and colonial produce, over those of France. The superior excellence of our wrought commodities, as well as the greater proportional cheapness of our freight, is sufficient, it would seem, to counterbalance the greater length of the voyage; and the scale would be turned decidedly in our favour, by the high character of the nation in its mercantile dealings. Yet notwithstanding these advantages, it is not an uncommon thing to see the whole ports of a nation filled with French shipping, and scarcely to meet with a single English flag. Such facts can only be accounted for, upon the supposition either that the profits of some other employments of stock are higher, or that there is some check to the interference of English traders in the commerce of the Mediterranean, which does not operate against those of France. We shall afterwards mention, more particularly, what, in our author's opinion, this check is. At present, we may remark, that the coasting trade of the Mediterranean seems to be less considered than it deserves, if there is any truth in the assertion, that vessels will frequently lie in port waiting for their cargoes several months, at an expense of four or five hundred pounds, when so great a profit as thirty or forty per cent. might be obtained by the transport of goods from port to port, while the assortments are making up. The instance of Leghorn is specified as a proof of this; and if the only cause of such impolicy is the ignorance of our traders, Mr. Jackson has contributed his share to remove it, in the full information which he here details. The extent of the French commerce with the Mediterranean states, may be estimated from the fact, that in one year (1797) the merchants of Marseilles, alone, loaded in the different ports of Tunis above three hundred sail of vessels, from eighty to three hundred tons burthen.

According to our author, the main obstacles to the advancement of the British trade in the Mediterranean, are want of consuls in the different ports, and of a few convenient settlements to furnish entrepôts and harbours. We decline entering here into so extensive a discussion as the latter of these considerations must suggest. But the policy of increasing the number of British commercial agents in the foreign countries with which it is the interest of our merchants to trade, can scarcely admit of a doubt. The impositions practised by persons assuming the title, are well known;

known; and the difficulties which our traders experience in carrying on their business at ports where no regular consul resides, are strongly illustrated by the statements of the work before us. It is clearly expedient that such obstacles to the employment of capital should be removed; and the conduct of the French government in this particular, if Mr. Jackson may be trusted, has been attended with great success. We may remark, however, that our author greatly exaggerates the uses to which consuls are properly subservient. According to him, the chief impositions practised by our foreign vice-consuls, consists in the extravagance of their charges upon the cargoes which they are commissioned to prepare by the merchants of this country. He shows that a profit of thirty-five *per cent.* is really gained by them, under cover of the trifling nominal commission; and instances the fact of Italian houses, at Leghorn, supporting themselves in great splendour upon the sales of two Newfoundland ships *per annum.* He is here obviously confounding things perfectly distinct. The duties of a consul appointed to assist the traders of his country in their differences with the government where he resides, and to watch over their rights when attacked by foreigners in places where the ordinary administration of justice is irregular, are quite distinct from the functions of a mercantile correspondent; and although the establishment of commercial men as consuls for the above general purposes, may greatly facilitate the mercantile transactions of his countrymen, by furnishing respectable correspondents, yet it would be altogether absurd in any nation to view this as a primary motive for establishing consulates, and thus to hire persons as factors for its merchants, in countries where the natives were not deemed worthy of trust. The particular facts alluded to upon this topic, we feel somewhat disposed to question. That merchants may be extremely ignorant of the places or speculations which are open to their capital, we can easily admit. That various accidental circumstances may operate to prevent them from entering into these profitable employments so speedily as their interest would require, might also be granted; but after they have once occupied the new ground, and engaged in the whole details of the business, as our author admits them to have done in the cases referred to, we presume it would be absurd to suppose that they can remain blind to the most gainful methods of managing it. If their foreign correspondents impose upon them, to the extent of above one third of all sales and purchases, as Mr. Jackson asserts, the trick must speedily be discovered. If all the native factors persist in demanding the same high premium, under the cover of the nominal commission, we may be assured that the sums actually taken are the real and just profits of the agent; and if the British trader, who sends two Newfoundland vessels in a year to Leghorn, supports

ports an Italian family in a great style, it is either his own fault, or the necessity of the case, if he cannot maintain an English clerk there for less. Our author tells a story, by no means credible, in illustration of the impositions which he complains of; and we mention it as one of the very few inaccuracies, of this description, into which he has fallen. The charges of factors in most parts of the Mediterranean, he observes, are uniformly thirty-five *per cent.* above the sums actually disbursed. In order to account for this universal ratio of what he terms imposition, he states, that the Italian servants whom he employed, always overcharged him in the same proportion when they made purchases for either his household or ships; that these people require no wages, provided they have the privilege of going to market; and that, upon inquiry, he traced the practice to the priests, 'who come in for a considerable share' of the booty, and 'compelled them to it as a method of making the heretics contribute to their support.' This, Mr. Jackson gravely assures us, is universally the case among all the nations which have faith in eternal absolution,—as if an Italian, Greek, or Ragusee, could not cheat a foreigner without the instigation of his priest.

When the trade of the Mediterranean shall have received the attention which it deserves from the merchants of this country, and the encouragement which the Government ought to give it, by the removal of the obstacles formerly pointed out, our author is of opinion that it will rival the commerce of our West Indian colonies in the amount of the shipping which it can employ. Above two hundred ships, of more than 200 tons, may find employment in the direct trade between Britain and the Mediterranean, without including the fish-trade. A great number of smaller vessels, perhaps not less than a thousand, might be employed in the carrying or coasting trade of that sea, and in collecting cargoes for the larger ships to bring home. The trade of the Black Sea opens a wide field of speculation, hitherto scarcely entered upon. The profits of a voyage from thence to the Mediterranean, our author assures us, are almost incredible; and he calculates the total number of vessels which may be required for the whole of this extensive commerce at two thousand of all sizes. 'Every intelligent merchant, (he observes rather awkwardly,) and even his Majesty's Ministers, by giving this subject their serious attention, will very soon be convinced of the great benefit the nation will derive from it.' Into the accuracy of his particular calculations we do not presume to inquire; but there is one general comparison, stated between the benefits of the Mediterranean and West Indian trade, which a man may reject without any pretensions to a practical knowledge of either. Mr. Jackson conceives

conceives the former to be twice as beneficial as the latter, because it is carried on altogether with foreign nations. Traffic, then, according to him, is always a gain made at another's expense; and by trading with your own countrymen, you are in fact working their ruin.

Some of the most useful information contained in this work, is that which relates to the faithlessness of the nations or sects who have no flag, or whose flag is not respected by others; a point which merchants trading in the Mediterranean cannot sufficiently attend to. The variety and extent of the chicaneries practised by the subjects of the petty states in its neighbourhood, and by the tribes which belong to no particular government, are not generally known: we shall here notice a few instances. In the Barbary States the Jews are very numerous. However solemnly they may have bound themselves in any contract with a European, they will not abide by it, if the smallest gain can be made by breaking it, unless the particulars of the agreement have been previously registered in one of the European consular offices, and samples deposited. In most other places they are bound by agreement in the presence of a broker. The Greeks are still more faithless than the Jews. Being oppressed, rather than neglected by their own government, and finding all representations in vain, which they can make for redress against injuries or insults of foreigners, they take the law, says our author, into their own hands. When a Greek vessel is insulted by a stronger ship of any other nation, the crew submit in patience; but the first vessel of inferior force belonging to that nation which they meet is sure to suffer for the insult. The Greeks will destroy every soul on board, and then plunder and sink it. So that meeting with a Greek and with an Algerine may be considered as almost equally dangerous. Although the Armenians are much more to be depended upon than the Greeks, in the countries where they chiefly abound, no man can travel from one province to another without a passport; and the Turks, employing them in almost all their commercial transactions, protect them in their traffic, and even treat them with some respect. Our author affirms, 'from his own knowledge and experience, that the inhabitants, in general, of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria are the most virtuous people in Europe.'

It is not generally known that any material changes have of late years taken place in the political situation of the Barbary States. Our author informs us, that Tunis, the most considerable of these, has been rapidly improving since the administration of Sidi Mustapha, the late prime minister. He encouraged the cultivation of corn and olives, which now form the principal articles

articles of exportation. 'This,' says Mr. Jackson, 'has served much to civilize the inhabitants, who, from a state of perpetual warfare with the Christians, and often amongst themselves, begin now to feel the advantages of commerce; and the duties on exports at present form the greatest part of the Bey's revenues.' p. 55. The beneficial effects of this improvement are, however, disclosing themselves slowly and partially; for we learn from another passage, that the Bey collects his annual revenues by means of a large army,—that every thing must be done by force,—that, without it, the tribes of the interior would pay no tribute,—and that, in consequence of this unsettled state of the country, 'very little commercial intercourse can be carried on from one province to another.' p. 75. An exclusive company has obtained from the Bey the monopoly of hides and wax, two very considerable articles of exportation. This body, for a certain yearly sum, and for undertaking to clothe the troops, has the privilege of buying all the wax and bullocks' hides produced in the kingdom, at a stipulated price. It is somewhat singular, that in many parts of Italy the governments should have adopted this African custom to a certain degree, and claimed the hides of the oxen slaughtered within their jurisdiction.

No part of Europe, with the exception, perhaps, of some districts in the Turkish dominions, is so little known as the island of Sardinia, although its name is as familiar to us as that of France or Italy, and its situation places it in the neighbourhood of the most civilized quarters of the globe. Mr. Jackson has recorded a few particulars of this island, which may be thought worthy of notice. It is naturally extremely fertile, producing wine and grain, the latter in such perfection, that the Sardinian bread is equal to any in the world. There is an internal navigation from the north-west to the south-east corner, fit for small craft. The inhabitants of the country are little better than savages; they dress themselves in goat-skins with the hair outwards, and never shave the beard; they go always armed, and are all thieves and robbers; they scruple not, for the smallest booty, to murder any stranger that falls in their way; and no one can travel with tolerable safety, unless he is not only well armed, but accompanied by guides and guards of the country. It is even unsafe for a ship to wood and water on the eastern coast of the island, without having its crew well armed. The contrast between the natives of the country and those of the capital, is represented as very striking. The latter scarcely ever venture beyond their walls, and live in a style of absurd pomp and affectation. Every one above the lower ranks wears a court dress upon all occasions, and this fashion extends even to the in-

ferior orders, on holidays. The facilities of this island for commerce, both with the rest of the Mediterranean, and with places beyond the Straits, are amply illustrated by the details of Mr. Jackson.

The statements of our author are in general so very accurate that we think it right to extract the following positive assertions with respect to the effects of olive oil upon the human body.

'In the kingdom of Tunis, the people usually employed as *coolies* or porters, are, in general, natives of Gereed, or the country of Dates, about 300 miles from the sea-coast. Their dress is, in general, a wide woollen coat, of its natural colour, with short wide sleeves, over wrapping round the body, and tied round the waist with a cumber band: they never wear a shirt, and seldom have either trousers, shoes, or stockings; they have always a scarlet woollen cap upon the head, and sometimes a coarse white turban. Those coolies that are employed in the oil stores seldom eat any thing but bread and oil: they smear themselves all over with oil, and their coat is always well soaked with it. Though the plague frequently rages in Tunis in the most frightful manner, destroying many thousands of the inhabitants, yet there never was known an instance of any of these coolies, who work in the oil stores, ever being in the least affected by it. In the summer, it is customary for these coolies to sleep upon the bare ground: we have frequently seen in the night scorpions, and other venomous reptiles, running about them in great numbers, yet we never heard of a single instance where the coolies were ever injured by them. Nor do the musquitoes, which are always very troublesome to other people in hot climates, ever molest those people, though their face, hands, and arms, from their elbows, are exposed, as also their legs and feet: any other people, being so much exposed, would be nearly destroyed by the musquitoes. In Tunis, when any person is stung by a scorpion, or bit by any other venomous reptile, they immediately scarify the part with a knife, and rub in olive oil as quick as possible, which arrests the progress of the venom. If oil is not applied in a few minutes, death is inevitable, particularly from the sting of a scorpion. Those in the kingdom of Tunis are the most venomous in the world.'—The strength and agility of these coolies or porters (our author adds) are almost incredible. Having a great many ships to load, we employed several of these people, and have frequently seen one of them carry a load upon his back, which weighed half a ton English weight, a distance of thirty or forty yards.' p. 64. *et seqq.*

In pursuing the details of the Mediterranean commerce, Mr. Jackson's information is extremely full and distinct. He seems to have noted down exactly those parts of the practical knowledge acquired during his residence, and mercantile transactions, on the spot, which are most requisite for the instruction of those who are engaging in similar speculations. He gives us lists of the goods most in demand at each particular place—with the articles

articles of which assortments should be made up, and the quantity of each species of goods—tables of coins, weights and measures—notices of the prices of exportable produce in the different markets—sketches of the kind of adventures most likely to succeed—hints respecting the trading customs and laws immediately affecting commerce; with a variety of other valuable matter, for an account of which the work itself must be consulted. Several of the practical documents, the result of his own experience, are of a more extensive use than the mere trade of the Mediterranean. We believe the directions about curing meat for ship's stores, p. 91. *et seqq.* to be extremely valuable, and applicable to that service in all hot climates.

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APPENDIX.

[Although we have uniformly declined to lay before the public those remonstrances to which we are exposed by our situation, and which could not be printed without involving us in endless controversies, we have always declared our willingness to correct any mistatement in point of fact into which we may have been betrayed, and even to insert any explanation which an author may be tempted to give of the statements which we may have misapprehended. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that we now publish the following letter of M. De Luc, in which, we think, he exculpates himself completely from the imputation which was rather rashly thrown upon him in Dr. Robison's edition of Dr. Black's lectures, and repeated by us—we think fortunately for all parties—in our review of that publication.]

TO

TO THE CONDUCTORS OF THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

GENTLEMEN,

AT my return from the Continent, after an absence of some years, I have read the account you have given some time ago, in your No. V. of *Dr. Black's Lectures*, published by Mr. Robison, and in it a statement concerning me, which I shall here extract from your pages 19 to 21.

'Dr. Black had many gentlemen of Geneva in 1763, in particular a Mr. Odier, *who corresponded with M. de Luc*, and communicated to our countrymen several of that gentleman's meteorological observations. A Swedish gentleman, from Stockholm, was also much in the company of Dr. Black and his friends, about the year 1768. In 1772, Mr. Wilcke, of Stockholm, read a paper to the Royal Society of that city, in which *the absorption of heat by melting ice* is described; and in the same year, M. De Luc, of Geneva, published his *Recherches sur les Modifications de l'Atmosphere*, in which the doctrine is, with much less accuracy, employed to explain some meteorological facts. Our readers will probably have anticipated the *conclusion* which this statement of circumstances *forces us to draw*,—That both the one and the other of these gentlemen, in all probability, *owed their knowledge* of *the absorption of heat* to the diffusion of Dr. Black's discoveries, through the medium of his lectures. But the *subsequent conduct* of M. De Luc deserves our farther attention; and leaves *as little doubt*, with respect to his *culpability*, as can exist upon a question of this sort.

'About the year 1782, Dr. Black was informed that Mr. De Luc *earnestly wished* to become the *editor* of his observations upon *latent heat*, in order *to secure* Dr. Black's claim to the discovery. In consequence of *repeated solicitations*, Dr. Black gave his friend Mr. Watt *permission* to communicate the *leading points of his theory*, and *instructions* to perform the *experiments* before Mr. De Luc. *They trusted* in the *promise* of the Genevese philosopher.—The *publication* at last arrived; it consisted in *refutations* of the *claims* urged by others, and an *assertion* that the *discovery of latent heat* was Mr. De Luc's own. Mr. Watt wrote a letter to Mr. De Luc, containing a full explanation of Dr. Black's discoveries, and *insisted* that it should be published in the *next volume* of the work. It appeared accordingly, but was accompanied only by the acknowledgment of the satisfaction Mr. De Luc received from learning that his own system had so able a defender as Dr. Black.

'From the foregoing *statement* it appears, that Mr. De Luc published a work containing *a few crude ideas* on the *combinations of heat*; that he *formed a design* to *pass for the author of the doctrine*, by completing his knowledge of the theory, and twisting his former vague statement into some kind of similarity; that *for this purpose*, he applied to the man whom he knew to be the discoverer, and obtained from him a full account of the matter, *under the pretext* of *defending his claim against others*; that, instead of fulfilling *his promise*, he only *refuted* the *claims of others*, in

in order to bring forward *his own*; converted the documents which he procured to his own use; and concluded, by *politely laughing* at the person whom *he had thus defrauded*. Such is the amount of the *impression* made by Mr. Robison's narrative in the *eighth note* to the first volume.'

You consider yourselves Gentlemen, that *statement* under a very serious aspect; for you add, 'Nobody could hesitate to pronounce, that the *conduct* here *imputed* would be deemed common IMPOSTURE, if avarice, not *vanity*, had been the *motive*, and money, not *fame*, the end.' I go even farther; no difference of *motive* or *end*, could efface the character of such a *conduct*; it would be a most infamous *imposture*. But you had said in the beginning, p. 19. 'we are almost inclined to hope, that Mr. Robison, from whom *our authority is derived*, has been *mistaken* in his decisions; and you have concluded, p. 21. in this kind manner, 'we wish that *some friend* of the Genevese philosopher *would step forward* to clear him from *so foul a charge*.' This makes me address to you what such *friends* as Truth and Evidence bring forward in my favour; with the hope that you will give it a place in the same record in which you have consigned the accusation, or Mr. Robison's *mistake* throughout. In doing this you will satisfy your honesty; and I shall also be satisfied; as, from the fatal circumstance of Mr. Robison's death since his accusation, and your repetition of it in your Review, it is the only reparation I can expect. If he lived, I have no doubt that he would have acknowledged the truth of what I am going to relate to you, which I hope will not in itself be uninteresting to your readers, as containing anecdotes for the history of physical science in the last century.

Mr. Robison's statement concerns two different PERIODS, the *second* of which only gives importance to the *first*: for, as the date of 1763, assigned to my correspondence with Dr. Odier, is a great *mistake* of Mr. Robison, its real *date* would have been sufficient to dispel the idea of *plagiarism* with respect to my first work. But the charge concerning the second being of a more serious nature, and involved in more intricated circumstances, I must, by the very history of my pursuits, connected with the times, make it evident, that my steps in the *second period*, were only the consequence of what had preceded in the former.

My work, *Recherches sur les Modifications de l'Atmosphere*, was printed at different times, beginning in 1764; but when the edition was completed 1772, my good genius prompted me to place at the head of it, an *Introduction*, containing this: '*Extrait des Regitres de l'Acad. des Sc. de Paris, du 30 Juillet* 1762—Mess. de la Condamine et de la Lande, qui avoient été nommés pour examiner un ouvrage, intitulé, *Recherches sur la Loi des Condensions*

sasions de l'Atmosphere, et sur la Maniere de mesurer par le Barométre la Hauteur des lieux accessibles, par M. J. A. de Luc, Citoyen de Geneve, ayant fait leur rapport, l'Académie a jugé, que cet ouvrage pouvoit être regardé comme un des meilleurs dont on ait enrichi la Physique de puis longtems, et qu'il est très digne d'être approuvé. En foi de quoi j'ai signé le present certificat, à Paris, le 4 Aout, 1762.—Grandjean de Fouchy, secr. perp. de l'Acad.'

This *date* is already anterior to the time when it is supposed I *corresponded* with Dr. Odier; and it is sufficient for ascertaining all those which are to be found in the work itself. It may be seen, first, that the Experiments on *Mount Salève*, from which was derived the *formula* mentioned in the certificate, had been made between 1757 and 1760; and the account of those experiments in the work shows, that they could not begin, before the principal of those by which I had fixed the construction of the *thermometer* and the *barometer*, the origin of which, as I shall explain, goes back to 1749. The great number of experiments of various kinds in which I was then engaged, especially on the THERMOMETER, being described in my work, I shall only mention those which relate to the fundamental *limits* of the state of that important instrument.

One of these *limits* was called the *term of congelation*, particularly by Mr. *de* REAUMUR, whose *thermometer* was much used on the Continent: it was understood as the *temperature* at which *water* begins to *freeze*. But, when I came to try that point, I found it very far from *fixed;* of which I shall give a very striking instance in a *water* thermoscope. This singular instrument, on which a great number of experiments may be seen in my work, could not support the *boiling heat* necessary to fix its scale, without carefully exhausting the *air* contained in that *water;* but I found, that, after this operation, it could support without any appearance of *ebullition*, a much greater *heat* than that of *boiling water* under the actual *pressure* of the atmosphere; a circumstance to which I shall return. When I transported these *thermoscopes*, from the temperature of my room, to that of the external air during *frost*, they first descended by small steps, were a moment *stationary*, then had a small *retrogradation*, and remained fixed. One of these instruments had remained many days out of the window, in a constant *frost*, without any appearance of alteration in the *water;* which determined me to observe the state of that *water*, by breaking the ball. I broke it on a saucer, first left to take the external temperature, then 14° of Fahrenheit. The *water* ran out quite *liquid*, but was instantly *frozen* on the saucer. This was a decisive proof, that a certain *temperature* is not

not the only condition of *congelation*; that it depends also on other circumstances, which being variable, could not afford, as M. *de Reaumur* had supposed it, a *fixed point* for the *thermometer*.

These experiments on *congelation* directed my attention to a process of M. Michely Ducrest, that of using *melting ice*, of which on the contrary, I had experienced the *constant* temperature; but I resolved to submit it to a trial, in which I could observe the march of the phenomena, before, and during the *melting*. This is an experiment related as follows in § 438. of my work.

'In the severe cold of February, 1755, I suspended in *water*, (this being contained in wine glasses) several quicksilver *thermometers*, the lower point of which' (taken in *melting ice*) 'was marked with a *thread* on the naked tube, part of which and the ball, were immersed in that *water*, (exposed to the external cold air.) The beginning of the *congelation* was not indicated by the same points of the *thermometers*; the *water* was still *liquid*, though the quicksilver was sunk more or less under the *thread*. When the *water* was entirely *frozen*, it *cooled* gradually more, till it had attained the actual *temperature* of the air, the *variations* of which, the *thermometer* enclosed in the *ice* followed (only more slowly in proportion to the thickness of the ice) as did those which were immediately exposed to the air. I brought near a chimney fire, these glasses with their *thermometers*, (turning them slowly.) The quicksilver *ascended* then gradually in the tube; it had attained the *thread* when the *ice* began to *melt*, and the thermometers remained *fixed* at that point, as long as there remained a crust of *ice* all around their ball; but as soon as an opening was made in that crust, or when the water, much *heated* around it, penetrated from above between the ice and the ball, the quicksilver rose suddenly in the *thermometers*.

That series of experiments could not be *owing* to the *diffusion of Dr. Black's lectures*.

When I considered also the *upper point* of the thermometric scale, taken in *boiling water*, it was already known, that its degree of *heat* though *fixed* at the moment it was tried, changed with the *atmospherical pressure:* therefore, I previously determined a certain height of the *barometer*, by which should be fixed in *boiling water*, the upper point of the *thermometer* which I intended to employ in the different kinds of experiments and observations which I had in view, and, in particular, on the *boiling point*.

I have already mentioned, that, when *water* has been carefully deprived of *air*, it can, without *boiling*, support a much greater degree of *heat* than that of *boiling water* in the same place; an increase of *heat* which I have carried as far as 21° of Fahrenheit: and I could have gone farther, had not the difficulty considerably increased, as I have explained in § 1072. of my work.

work. But in the earliest part of these experiments, I had also found, that even *spirit of wine* thus deprived of *air*, could, without *boiling*, support a greater *heat* than that of *boiling water*; though, before the *air* is expelled, it *boils* by a degree of heat not exceeding 183° of Fahrenheit, or 66°. 6 of my scale, which I found afterwards, by observations made on M. *de Reaumur's* own *thermometers*, to have been the point which he called 80. The first of these experiments, led me to many others on the phenomenon of *ebullition*, which I found intimately connected with that of common *evaporation*, the earliest object of my experiments and thoughts on natural philosophy, from a circumstance which I have already mentioned and shall now relate.

In the year 1749, the phenomenon of *dew* was a great object of attention among natural philosophers, between whom two opposite theories were agitated; some supposed that *dew* ascended from the *earth*, and others that it descended from the *air*. This difference of opinion, on so common a phenomenon, appeared to me very remarkable; and I undertook a course of experiments, with the hope of discovering some decisive fact. But I was disappointed: for the result of a great number of various kinds of experiments and observations was only this, that *dew*, attentively studied, was a most obscure *atmospheric phenomenon*, the nature of which could not be determined, without a deep study of *evaporation*, a clear idea of the phenomenon of *moisture*, and more knowledge in *meteorology*. Such was the origin of the long course of experiments and observations the real concatenation of which in my first work, and from this to the second, will thus be better understood. But I return to *ebullition*.

The circumstance, of a *fixed* degree of *heat* in *boiling water* under the same *atmospheric pressure*, but changing with that *pressure*, carried my thoughts farther than the determination of a *fixed point* for the *thermometer*; for this in itself was a great phenomenon, which I conceived to be connected with other phenomena on our globe, by some common *cause*. But, in order to be guided in my inquiries on that cause, the *law* of the phenomenon was first to be accurately determined; and my experiments on that object began in 1762, in a journey from Geneva to Genoa, through Mount Cenis, the particulars of which are related in § 450. of my work. I formed afterwards a plan of experiments on higher mountains, in which I succeeded in 1770: and the *formula* I deduced from all these observations, to determine the degree of *heat* in *boiling water*, from the observation of the *barometer*, was found exact by M. de Saussure, on the top of *Mont-Blanc*, where water *boiled* at 68. 9 of my scale of 80 degrees, the uppermost of which is determined by the height of 27 French inches of the *barometer*, which was then 16.08.

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No course of experiments could bring on more subjects of consideration on *physical causes*, than the two kinds which I carried on in my travels on mountains; the measurement of *heights* by the *barometer*, and the changes of *heat* in *boiling water*. The modifications of *evaporated water* in the atmosphere had been my earliest view; but they became still an object of greater attention, by the *anomalies* which I found in the result of my *barometrical* observations, after having determined the direct effects of the differences of *pressure* and of *heat* on the *density* of *air*. I had already found (Part IV. chap. ix. of my work,) that *evaporation*, from the lowest to the highest temperature, was one and the same process, owing to a *peculiar union* of *fire* with *water*, which I had defined, explaining how it produced the *cooling* of *liquids* which *evaporate* (§ 693. and 972.) and I had found also, that the product of *evaporation* was a *fluid* much *lighter* than common *air*, (§ 675.) From this last determination, I ascribed to unequal *mixtures* of *aqueous vapour* with the *air*, the *anomalies* in the results of *barometrical* observations, (§ 667. *& seq.*) And besides, not doubting that *aqueous vapour* was to accumulate in the atmosphere, especially in its upper region, at last to produce *rain*, I formed, on the *variations* of the *barometer* and their connexions with the *weather*, a system exposed at some length in my work, (§ 709. *& seq.*)

With this last idea, early formed in my mind, what was my astonishment when, travelling on high mountains, I observed symptoms of *dryness* in the *air*, which I had never observed on the plain! That circumstance determined me to think at last of obtaining a real *hygrometer*, the want of which, in atmospherical observations, I had felt long before. After many experiments and reflections, in which the determination of the true *essence* of *moisture* had produced the greatest difficulty, I obtained a first *hygrometer;* and as soon as I had sufficiently studied the march of that instrument, I set off for the same mountains on which I had observed those unexpected symptoms of *dryness*. My astonishment then increased; for the circumstances that attended these new observations were such, that they shook all the former *meteorological systems*, mine included, and opened quite a new field, in which, though I had much frequented it, I found, and find myself still, little advanced, except by having shut up delusive roads, and pointed out those which give hope of discoveries.

This great change in the *meteorological* prospect happened in August 1772, at a time when I had formed the design of coming to England. I would not therefore stop any longer the edition of my work; and while the latter part was printing, I wrote separately an account of these last experiments, and of the observations

tions and principles by which I had been directed. In that paper, embracing already, though still confusedly, (as is the case in every beginning of pursuit,) a greater field, I began to consider, in a more general view, the modification of *water*, by the intervention of *fire;* and I proposed, for reasons which I explained, to give a particular name, that of *humor*, to the substance which appeared under the different forms of *ice water*, and *aqueous vapour:* a view which, by new experiments and observations, has been since so determined, that in a work which I have published in 1803, I have proved that the true character of *moisture* is not attached to *water* (that is to say, *melted ice*,) but only to *humor*, or to the *elementary substance*—which is *chrystallized* in *ice*, after *liquidity* and a certain diminution of *heat*—*liquid* in *water*, by a certain combination of *fire*, above a certain *temperature*—*expansible* with more *fire*, by a process that takes place at every *temperature*—and susceptible of various *combinations* in *solids* and *gases*. But this is an anticipation.

With the composition of the above mentioned paper, ends the *first period* of the history which I have been obliged to give of my pursuits; and if I have entered into some details, it is only on account of the SECOND *period*, in which I am charged with much more than *plagiarism:* For, had I had only this to repel, I could have done it at once, as I am going to do. But that would not have been sufficient for the more serious imputation. It was necessary for me to make it evident, by stating the origin, the views, and the progress of my researches at Geneva, that I only followed them in England, with the help of the general progress of discoveries.

Now, Gentlemen, as soon as I had seen, in your Review, the accusations against me, and, first, that of having derived from *Dr. Odier*, in 1763, by a communication of Dr. Black's discoveries, the *crude ideas* of *combinations of heat* which I had expressed in my work, I wrote to Geneva, in order to be more precise than I could be from recollection after 40 years, in what I should oppose to that erroneous supposition. I have now received a declaration of *Dr. Odier* himself, stating, that he only arrived at Edinburgh in *September*, 1767, and that he had not written to me more than *three letters*, which were found by my brother among papers which I had left at Geneva; and from these letters, the exactness of my above account will be ascertained without any possibility of doubt.

The first was from Edinburgh, dated, July 27th, 1771: in it Dr. Odier answered a letter which I had written to him, after the communication made to me by his father, of a dissertation he had published at Edinburgh on *sounds* and *sonorous bodies*. In

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that letter he did not mention Dr. Black at all; but, speaking of my pursuits, on the occasion of something I had mentioned, he informed me, that *Dr. Cullen* had some view to apply to the *measurement of heights* the connection of the *degrees of heat in boiling water*, with *atmospherical pressure*, instead of the observations on the barometer. The second letter, of January 1772, was in answer to a second from me, in which I had made some remarks on Dr. Cullen's views, and informed him that my work on the *modifications of the atmosphere* would be soon published. He had communicated that intelligence to Dr. Cullen and to Dr. Black; from the former, he explained more fully his reasons; and from Dr. Black, he told me only, that he had a very ingenious *theory* on the *combinations of heat* in *water* and *steam*, *which he would explain to me at his return to Geneva*. Some time after, he left Edinburgh. His third letter was dated from London, October 26th, 1772; and when I received it, my work, of which I had published a *prospectus*, was come out of the press. Dr. Odier had this *prospectus*, in which, in particular, were mentioned my experiments for discovering the *ratio* of the *dilatations* of the quicksilver in the *thermometer* with the *increases of heat*; and he informed me, that Dr. Black had made similar experiments, to the same purpose. It is therefore evident that this first work, in which I am aware of many defects, contains no *plagiarism*; which is the only point on which I have been called upon, and care, to justify myself.

Such, Gentlemen, is that *correspondence*, from some faint recollection of which Mr. Robison had derived the idea that it had been my guide in Geneva. Dr. Odier arrived at Geneva soon after his last letter; and for the little time I remained there, I had the pleasure of living with him in the same house; a time which I shall always recollect with satisfaction. We had much conversation on the subject of his letters, finding that, not only on *one* object, but on *three*, my experiments at Geneva had met with those of the Edinburgh philosophers; Dr. Cullen's on the *law* of *boiling water* corresponded with the *atmospherical pressure*; and Dr. Black's, not only on the *combinations of fire*, but on the *march* of the *quicksilver thermometer*, in which I had been directed by M. Le Sage. This I have acknowledged, as I have done in all my publications, for any first ideas, *known* or *unknown*, which I had received from others.

The coincidence of unconcerted experiments on three different objects, confirmed me in an idea which I had expressed in my work, when tracing the history of former pursuits, in the roads which I had followed, namely, that the accusations of *plagiarism* were often unjust, and the determinations of *priority*

on

on comparative *dates*, of no consequence; as there was a general cause of those *encounters* at the same time, that of the *progress of science*, by which attentive men were placed in the same periods at the *entrance* of new *roads*, which they follow without *imitation* of each other. So that the history of science is uselessly loaded with accusations of *plagiarism*, and claims of *priority*, which withdraw the attention from the main point, the *progress* of the science itself, and create discord among those who ought to *unite* to forward it.

Dr. Black had no doubt made his experiments without any knowledge of mine, as mine were also carried on without any knowledge of his. It would not have given me the least degree of pain, if, when I was informed of his experiments, it had been with the circumstance, that he had PRECEDED me in *time*; and I was happy to learn, that he had carried them *farther* than me, by attending to the *absolute quantities* of what he called *latent heat* in *water* and *steam*, which, according to my system, and using his expression, I have since called *latent fire*. That further step, with all the other discoveries with which that epoch was pregnant, by the progress of experimental philosophy, helped me forward in the principal object of my pursuit, as will be seen in the *second period*, to which I now come.

I arrived in London in the month of April 1773; the paper above mentioned having been translated into English, was read to the Royal Society in June; and in the latter end of the same year, I went to visit Dr. Priestley, at Calne, in Wiltshire. No body could be more, and I may say as much, interested as I was, in his experiments on *different kinds of air*, on account of my last observations in the Alps. For I could not see any more possibility of finding, in the atmosphere, any sensible part of the *water* necessary to produce *rain*, under the form of *aqueous vapour*, or the *product* whatever of *evaporation*, remaining such; and it had struck me, that with the idea of a first expansible fluid, *aqueous vapour*, Dr. Priestley's experiments on the *productions*, *transmutations* and *decompositions* of *aeriform fluids*, could afford some thread in that maze of atmospherical phenomena. He took much interest in my remarks, from which resulted an intercourse between us; and with that perspective of a dawn in meteorology, I took up again my researches on *hygrology* and *hygrometry*, in which, from that time, I was engaged for above twenty years.

In the year 1776, I had constructed a second *hygrometer*, which I observed on the Hartzinian mountains, with new and interesting meteorological circumstances; and at my return, I presented to the Royal Society, an account of my observations. (Phil. Trans. 1777.)

In

In the year 1781, I made some stay at Paris, where the new aspect of *meteorology* was the principal object of the conversations I had with many members of the Academy of Sciences, especially M. M. de la Place, Lavoisier, Monge, and Vandermonde. Dr. Crawford's theory on the phenomena of *heat*, observed when substances undergo certain changes in their nature, was then in great agitation among these philosophers; and the two last had, from the Academy, the special commission to examine and follow that new view.

Dr. Crawford had already published, in 1779, his work on *animal heat*, in which he had exposed Dr. Black's theory and experiments on *latent heat*, which therefore were by this time sufficiently known: he attributed that phenomenon to an increase of *capacity*, in *water* comparatively to *ice*, and in *steam* comparatively to *water*; an explanation which could be adapted to the expression *latent heat*; for when, in a system of insulated substances, *heat* really diminishes by a change in their *capacity*, that portion of *heat* which disappears may be in some manner considered as *latent*. I mention that circumstance, in order to prove that Dr. Black's experiments were well known: and I did not hear any doubt on his originality, though Mr. Wilcke had published similar experiments at Upsal, which I knew, from my own case, might have happened without imitation. However, from well known dates, Dr. Black had the *priority* with respect to him, and it may be with me also, though it does not appear. But, from that time, as I continued to do in my work, *Idées our la Meteorslogie*, I refuted Dr. Crawford's theory, by proving the necessity, as well as the reality, of those combinations of *fire* with other substances, which by depriving it of the faculty of producing *heat*, makes it really *latent*, till, by some new chymical process, it is again set free. And the year after, M. M. Lavoisier, and de la Place, followed, by a very ingenious process, one of the inquiries by which I had foretold that Dr. Crawford's theory would be proved erroneous. This was to determine, according to his theory, but in various cases, the quantity of *absolute heat*, in order to know ift ha tdetermination would be always the same; but the results of their experiments were far from that necessary consequence of the theory; and their *Memoires sur la Chateur*, in which those experiments were described, shook very much that theory, which at first had appeared of great importance.

Meteorology, as I have said, was my principal object in those discussions at Paris. I maintained the theory of *evaporation* by the union of *fire* with *water*, against the *dissolution* of *water* by *air*, as a first step towards the explanation of atmospherical phenomena, with the perspective of the *transformations* of *aeriform fluids*;

fluids; an object which was also followed successfully among the chymists at Paris, but with new *theories*, which I thought contrary to *atmospherical phenomena*, and were to be judged by them. This engaged me to begin at Paris, and afterwards to write in England, under the form of Letters addressed to M. de la Place, the same fundamental theory which, with more informations that I shall mention, I began to publish in 1786, under the title of *Idées sur la Meteorologie;* in the *Introduction*, and the course of which, I mentioned these particulars.

All those circumstances were passed, when, in the latter part of 1782, I went to Birmingham, and had the satisfaction of making my first acquaintance with Mr. Watt. Dr. Priestly resided also there at that time; and after his experiments on *aeriform fluids*, in which he made a continual progress, none could be more interesting to me, than those of Mr. Watt on the *steam* of boiling water. He was so kind as to explain to me, not only the construction of his *steam engine*, but his motives for all the essential parts, which were derived from the nature of *steam;* and the modifications of that fluid, which he had thoroughly investigated, were very essential to my pursuits. I traced, in them, the general character of *aqueous vapour;* but with some important circumstances, that I could not have observed, either in the course of my experiments, or from what I knew then of those of Dr. Black, which were not made with the same view. I stated that analogy to Mr. Watt, to which at first he objected (a circumstance which I have happened to mention in § 553. of my work; but after having more considered the subject, he gave me himself a particular proof of my theory, from a circumstance which he had observed, namely, that the common *evaporation* of *water* deprived that liquid of *as much heat* as it lost by *ebullition*, proportionally to the quantity of water which is *evaporated*.

In the intercourse which then began between us, this was our constant object, as equally interesting to us both, though from different motives; and all that I can recollect of my questions with respect to Dr. Black's opinions, concerned only two objects, namely, whether, in his expression *latent heat*, he considered *heat* (with some natural philosophers) as only a particular *modification* of the substances themselves, communicable to one another, or as the effect of a particular *fluid?* And what he thought of common *evaporation*, that is, whether he admitted, or not, the *dissolution* of *water* by *air?* I do not recollect his answers.

Some letters passed at that time between Mr. Watt and Dr. Black, which Mr. Watt has been so good as to communicate to me lately; and they agree exactly with my recollection on the principal object, under this point of view,—that I could not form either

ther an *earnest wish*, or any *design*, of *becoming the editor* of Dr. Black's *discoveries*, which were already much spread, as well as his first *determinations* on the *quantities* of *latent heat*. But surely I wished to be well informed of the particulars of his experiments; not to make them *my own*, which would have been as useless as impossible, but to understand better the *progress* made by Mr. Watt; and this is what I wished to publish. But as his new steps were connected with Dr. Black's discoveries, he thought himself obliged to communicate to him the use which I intended to make of them; and he approved it.

In some of the visits I made afterwards to Mr. Watt at Birmingham, in which he was so kind as to receive me in his house, I acquired those informations I desired on the *modifications* of *steam* in different circumstances. We had previously projected some experiments on the production of *steam* of *boiling water* in *vacuo*, which he had already made in 1765, and on the *cooling* of *water* by common *evaporation*, both with the view of *comparing* the quantity of *latent fire* in the *vapour* thus produced, with that of the *vapour* or *steam* of *boiling water* under the *pressure* of the *atmosphere*. These *comparative quantities* had been essential for Mr. Watt, to analyze an important phenomenon which he made me observe in the *steam engine*; and for me they were very useful to ascertain my system of *evaporation*, and to determine some precise *laws* of *hygrology*, in view of *meteorology*. Such was the object of these experiments, in which Dr. Black did not interfere. The doctrine of *latent heat* was known, and taken for granted; and the object was only certain *modifications*, the determination of which belonged to Mr. Watt.

Unconscious, therefore, when I wrote my work, *Idées sur la Meteorologie*, of any *engagement* with respect to Dr. Black, I neither thought of any *claim* for him or myself, or of *refuting* the *claims* of any *others*. I exposed only a system on the *combinations* of *fire* and *water*, which had successively been formed in my mind, with a view to *meteorology*. In the course of that exposition, I was to begin by stating some fundamental facts concerning *liquefaction* and *evaporation*; and I naturally began by those which were already published in my former work; adding to them, with grateful acknowledgment, the facts which I had learned from Mr. Watt. But these were connected with determinations of *absolute quantities*, as from them resulted the *comparative quantities*, which were our object; and as the *first attempt* at these determinations belonged to Dr. Black, I carefully recorded that circumstance.

As all these transactions had passed between Mr. Watt and me, in the account of which I desired to be correct; as soon as my first *volume* was printed, but *before it was published*, I sent it to

Mr. Watt, desiring him to communicate to me his remarks. Among these he made me aware, that from my expression, that Dr. Black had been the *first who had attempted the determinations of the quantities of latent heat*, it might be supposed that he had not *discovered* the *fact* itself. I acquiesced in that remark; and, in consequence, I fully redressed that equivocal expression in an *Appendix* to that first volume. The second was also published, when, in the summer of 1788, I had the pleasure of seeing Dr. Black in my house at Windsor; and neither then, nor in a letter which some time after I received from him, had I reason to suppose that he had any complaint against me.

Such, Gentlemen, is the true statement of facts concerning that *second period*. Please to read the *Appendix* above mentioned, and no doubt, I think, will remain in your mind, that if Mr. Robison had not, by a defective recollection, transported the contents of an *Appendix* of the *first volume* to the *second volume*, with the idea that it was placed in this by a sort of *compulsion* of Mr. Watt, he would not have accused me, nor thus exposed you, by your repeating his accusation, to be troubled with my *apology*. But it is not sufficient for me to have proved my *innocence*, in a case where the contrary would be *shameful*; I must show you besides by an instance which belongs to the subject, though episodical, what may be concluded from all my works, how far I am from being eager for *claims* of *discoveries*.

It is well known, that founding principally on *atmospherical* phenomena, I have not embraced a new *chymical theory*, commonly called *Lavoisier's*; having found, first, that it is contradicted by *meteorology*; and then explained its facts by another theory, which agrees with the fixed points of that science. Being at Berlin in the year 1800, I wrote a paper on that subject, which was read to a learned Society; and in the course of the exposition, I said this: 'As long as the nature of aqueous vapour was not understood, that is to say, while water in that state was considered as obeying to a certain repulsion, increased by heat, not knowing thus the *latent fire* which it contains *in all temperatures*, the *first discovery of which is due to Dr. Black*, no good *steam engine* could be made.' Then I went on explaining Mr. Watt's additions to that discovery, and the knowledge which I had derived from them. There surely I forgot myself; but it would have been too long, and useless to the subject to make the proper distinction; and I praised with pleasure two men whom I esteemed.

Now, the same paper has served afterwards as an introduction to a work which I sent from Berlin to Paris, where it has been published two years ago, under the title of *Introduction à la Physique terrestre par les fluides expansibles*, in the first volume of which

p. 102,

p. 102, is the passage above translated; and I have said the same of Dr. Black, without speaking of myself, in another work published in Germany. This, surely, is not the conduct of a man eager for his own fame, which even in this letter has been no object for me.

With confidence that you will do me justice by publishing this explanation, I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Windsor, April 18th, 1805. DE LUC.

[M. de Luc has been pleased to annex to this letter a very long postscript upon the Huttonian Theory of the Earth, which we are prevented from laying before our readers, in consequence of our resolution to have no controversial appendix to our publication. We are happy, however, to be able to announce that this venerable philosopher is now preparing for publication an account of the geological travels in which he has been engaged for the last twenty-four years, in which he hopes to throw new light upon the doctrine of stratification, and on the formation of lakes and valleys by the subsidence of the original strata.]

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